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SOCIO ECONOMIC LIFE OF INDIA IN THE VEDIC PERIOD

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SOCIAL LIFE OF INDIA IN THE VEDIC PERIOD

CHAPTER I

CASTE SYSTEM

i) *Classless society in the early Ṛgvedic period* :

The Vedic Aryans lived in tribal societies in the early Ṛgvedic period, enjoying cattle or grains whichsoever they procured without any spirit of differentiation as reflected in the ṛc[1] : "Samāne Ūrve adhi saṅgatāsaḥ saṃ jānate na yatante mitha-s-te/te devānāṃ na minanti vratānyamardhanto vasubhi-r-yādamānāḥ" which states that "being united with common people they become of one mind ; they strive together as it were, nor do they injure the rituals of the gods, non-injuring each other they move with wealth." Sāyaṇa explains 'samāne ūrve' of this hymn as 'cattle' common property of all, belonging to the tribe. (sarveṣām sādhāraṇe go-samūhe). The Vedic gaṇa has been discussed as an armed tribal organisation in my "Vedic India, Political and Legal institutions in Vedic Literature." The members of the gaṇa surrendered all wealth captured by them as spoils of war to their chief, gaṇapati, instead of appropriating in their individual capacity. The Av.[2] speaks of the same state of things how all members of a tribe remained united, like-minded and enjoyed in common shares of food and drink. All members of the tribe had to fight and withstand the attack of non-aryans, dāsa-s or dasyu-s. No military leader nor any priest could enjoy any special privilege. 'Bali', used in the sense of offering to a god or to a king or chief[3] was but voluntary. Land belonged to the entire tribe and there is no question of any land-grant by tribal chiefs to any warrior or priest in early Vedic age. Besides, the same amount of vergeld prescribed for each, irrespective of sex testifies to the classless society during this period. The Vāyu Purāṇa[4] refers to such a classless society (varṇāśrama-vyavasthāścha na tadā-

san na saṅkaraḥ), obviously of this early period, as reflected in Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda. But even in this earliest period people of both Aryan and non-aryan groups took to different professions. Besides slowly rising military leaders and priests arose various craftsmen, like weavers, tanners, carpenters, smiths etc, as noted in Ṛv.[5] and Av[6, 7] as the folk around the king (abhito janān), who were all recognised by the king as his helpers and who occupied dignified status in the society.

Now whatever is said of the classless society is applicable only to the tribal people of the early Vedic Aryans. Varṇa, used in the earlier stratum of the Ṛgveda means colour (Ṛv. 1.73.7 ; II, 3,5 ; IX 97, 15 and 104.4 and 105.4 and X.124.7). We come across, two Varṇas, i.e. Aryans and pre-Aryans, as in the ṛc[8] (Yo dāsam varṇamadharaṃ guhā kaḥ) and in ṛc[9, 10] (Indraḥsamatsu yajamānamāryaṃ prāvad-viśveṣu śatamūtirājiṣu svarmījaṣvājiṣu/Mānave śāsada-vratān tvacham kṛṣṇāmarandhayat//). Indra is said to have helped in battles an Ārya sacrificer,....Indra punished for the sake of Manu (the dāsas) who did not observe the ordinances and subdued (or killed) the dark skin. Thus varṇa here means a group of people having a skin of a dark or fair colour. Another ṛc[11] (Samānātyā uta Sūryam....hatvī dasyūn-prāryaṃ varṇamāvat) states that Indra, having killed the dasyu-s, saved the Ārya varṇa. Thus these ṛcs show that people were at this stage of two classes, Ārya, i.e. those having skin of white colour and 'dāsa', i.e., those of dark colour. We come across 'asūryaṃ varṇam' in the Ṛv.[12] and the Tait. Br.[13] (Brāhmaṇaścha śūdra-ś-cha charmakarte vyāyacchete/Daivyovai varṇo brāhmaṇaḥ asūryaḥ śūdraḥ) speaks of these two main varṇas, brāhmaṇa as a divine varṇa and śūdra as the asurya varṇa, evidently a tribe, known as śūdras.

Indra is repeatedly prayed for the overthrow of the dāsa tribe (dāsī-r-viśaḥ), as in Ṛv.[14]. He is said to have deprived the dasyus of all good qualities (viśvasmāt sīmadhamān Indra dasyūn-viśo dāśi-r-akṛṇó-r-apraśastāḥ) and to have subjugated the dāsas. Indra's 'dasyu-hatyā' (slaughter of dasyu-s) is frequently mentioned in the Ṛv. obviously because of the fact that the dasyu-s possessed gold, jewels etc. which excited the greed of the Āryans. The Āryans being pastoral were owners of cattle, horses and chariots. The dasyu-s stole away the

cattle of the Āryans. The ṛc[15] speaks of the asura-s capturing the city of Dabhīti, a royal sage but defeated by Indra who recovered cattle, horses and chariots to the prince. (saṃ gobhi-r-aśvai-r-asṛjad-rathebhiḥ). These two classes of people differed not only in colour but also in practices. The Ārya is referred to as 'varhiṣmat'; while the dāsa or dasyu is described as 'avrata' (not obeying the ordinances of the gods) in the ṛcs[16], as 'akratu'[17] (who performed no sacrifices), mṛdhravāchaḥ[18] (whose speech is indistinct) and 'anāsaḥ'[19] (snub-nosed). The Aryans were evidently 'ārya'-s and the non-aryans or pre-Aryan people, who were subdued were dāsas or dasyu-s. The Aryans were conscious of their white complexion, as evidenced by the word 'śvitnya'[20] used to describe themselves. The Vasiṣṭha-s and Tṛtsu-s are also called śvityano.[21] The ṛc[22] (Indrāgninavatiṃ puro dāsa-patnī-r-adhūnutam/sākamekena Karmaṇā//) states that Indra and Agni shook ninety cities that had 'dāsa'-s as overlords. The Aryans, called 'mānuṣī-rabhi viśo', worshipping Agni Vāiśvānara set fire to the cities of their enemies, dark-coloured people (asiknīḥ) who deserted their possessions without fighting out of fear (tvadbhiyā), as noted in the ṛc.[23] B. B. Lal[24] speaks of "a great conflagration" at the end of Harappa culture at Rānā Ghuṇḍai. Indra[25] and Soma[26] are said to have killed people of black-skin. ("Pañchāśat-kṛṣṇā ni vapaḥ" in IV.16.13) and "....... ghnantaḥ-kṛṣṇām-apa tvacham" in (IX.41.1). The ṛcs[27] refer to a legend that Indra faught against Kṛṣṇa and his ten thousand followers, encamped in the Aṃśumati (=Yamunā) with his hosts of Maruts (aryan Viśaḥ) and with the help of the priest-god Bṛhaspati. (Adha drapso āṃsumatyā-....r-abhyācharantī-r-Bṛhaspatinā yujendraḥ sasāhe//"—VIII. 96.15). The epithets "anāsaḥ" applied to dasyu-s, meaning 'noseless' in Ṛv. V. 29.10, 'Vṛṣaśipraḥ' of the dāsas in ṛc (VII 99.4), meaning bull-lipped and 'mṛdhravāchaḥ' (=of hostile speech, according to Sāyaṇa) with reference to dasyu-s show marked difference between Aryans and non-Aryans, both physiological and linguistic. The Aryans being nomadic and pastoral did not realise the value of settled and urban life and of agriculture of the pre-Aryans. While the Aryans led the life of sacrifices, the non-āryans had little connection with Vedic sacrifices, as reflected in the words 'akratūn' 'aśraddhān' and 'ayajñān',

applied to dasyu-s in the ṛc.[28] Besides, the dasyu-s are depicted as 'akarmā', i.e. without any acts of sacrifices, 'anyavrata' not practising Aryan vratas and 'amānuṣa', i.e. hardly human in the ṛc.[29] It is worth mentioning that such epithets are, however, not used with reference to dāsa-s and so dāsa-s may be accepted as more amenable to Aryan way of life. However, dāsa-s and dasyu-s were definitely pre-Aryans who offered stiff resistence to the incoming Aryans but were defeated and gradually conquered and reduced to the position of servants.

The Aryans gradually took to settled life of agriculture from their enemies and it is more likely that they had utilised the services of the dāsas or dasyu-s whom they had conquered. The internal conflict of the Aryans in the early Vedic period is reflected in the Ṛv.[30] where Indra is invoked for overcoming two types of foes, Aryans and dāsa-s; and also more distinctly in the ṛcs depicting the Dāsarājña battle. (Ṛv. VII.33). Some Aryans had definitely violated the vrata-s of Aryan gods and thus led to such internal conflicts even among themselves, as reflected the Av.[31] where Atharvan, the primaval priest says to Varuṇa: "not barbarian (dāsa), not Aryan, by his might, dameth the course which I shall maintain." (tr. Whitney, I, p. 237). Indra is clearly noted as an enemy of the rich (edhamāna-dviṭ),[32] including the Aryans who rendered him no service and in another ṛc[33] ("Yasyāyaṃ viśva ārya dāsaḥ śevadhipā ariḥ") Indra is described as the enemy of both Aryans and dāsa-s, who concealed their treasure from the people. These internal conflicts and extra-tribal struggles, however, led to the disintegration of the society. We do not know whether they had any slaves to serve them, when they lived in a classless tribal society, though, of course, anthropology[34] teaches us that some pastoral tribes had slaves of initial category. Childe thinks[35] that people of Harappa of Indus Valley Culture who led urban life were divided into classes, on the basis of wealth. The Aryans must have destroyed the life and property of the pre-Aryans known as Dasyus or Dāsa-s in the Ṛv. in the first phase of their penetration but later on, they mixed with the survivours, particularly with the higher classes of the pre-Aryans. Indra is described as converting the dāsa-s into Āryas in the ṛc[36] (Yayā dāsānyāryāṇi vṛtrā karo). Elsewhere[37] (na yo rara āryaṃ nāma dasyave)

we find that Indra did not allow the Dasyus to use the title of Ārya. Hence we may assume that the Aryans, as a result of contact with the pre-Aryans, raised the status of some of them but sometimes they were reverted to their previous position, obviously because they violated the rules of Aryan made of life and thought. However, in course of time a fusion of culture took place in the new Aryan society.

From a large number of references in the Ṛv. to eminent dāsa-s, some of whom became rulers and some others became seers of Vedic hymns, we may assume that all the pre-Aryans were not annihilated or reduced to humilating status. Some dāsa-chiefs like Balbutha and Tarukṣa offered handsome gifts to aryan priests and were highly praised. They were definitely economically sound and gained higher status in the new Vedic society of the Composite culture. But most of the conquered pre-Aryans who had survived after destruction by the Aryans, were reduced to servants or dāsas who were later on known as Śudras in the Puruṣasūkta. The wives of the enemies of the Aryans who were killed were turned into dāsa-s (female slaves), engaged in domestic works, as referred to in Ṛv.[38] and Av.[39] From the use of the word 'dāsa' in the later portions of the Ṛv. Prof. Sharma[40] concludes that "male slaves hardly existed in the early Ṛgvedic period"; but it is hard to believe that all dāsī-s, referred to in earlier books of the Ṛv. were widows and forced to live as female slaves. Besides conquest, failure to repay debts resulted in one's enslavement, as reflected in the ṛc.[41] of course, we may surmise that the number of dāsa-s increased in the later Vedic period, as evidenced by the Vālakhilya hymn[42] mentioning a hundred dāsa-s (śatam dāsān ati srajaḥ) and by the use of the word 'dāsa-pravargya' in the ṛc[43] (Uṣatamaśyām yaśasam surīram dāsa-pravargaṃ rayimaśvavudhyam).

Next arises the question whether there is any difference between a dāsa and a dasyu. Shafer[44] suggests that the dāsas and Aryas were on a higher level than the dasyu-Bhils in the Vedic society. Prof. Sharma draws our attention to the use of the phrase 'dasyu-hatyā' and not to that of dāsahatyā in the Ṛv. and means to say the same state of things in the Ṛg-vedic society. Dāsas are sometimes equated with the Iranian Dahae.[45] Hillebrandt also takes Dāsas and Paṇis to be closely related

tribes, identifying the Paṇis with the Parnians and Dāsas of the Ṛv. with the Dahae. But the authors of the Vedic Index[46] doubt the validity of this theory and remark : "That Divodāsa should have been a Dāsa and yet have fought against other Dāsa-s is not in itself likely specially when his son Sudās appears as a protagonist of Aryan civilization," Stuart Figgot[47] speaks of movements of people from North Persia to India soon after 2000 B.C. Lal[48] suggests the influx of people at Shahi Tump (modern Baluchistan) in the first half of the second millenium B.C. and at Fort Munro (Afghanisthan) in the second half of the 2nd millenium B.C. Hence it may not be unlikely that the Dāsa-s might have come from outside into India by the same period, i.e. before the advent of the Vedic Aryans. That is why the Dāsas played a part of the allies of Vedic Aryans in their inter-tribal struggles. Hence Dāsas like Divodāsa, Balbutha, Tarukṣa and others were easily assimilated into the newly organised Aryan community. Of course, in the later Ṛg.-vedic period Dāsa-s and Dasyus were equally reduced to the position of slaves of the Aryans. It is interesting to assume influx of such people from Iran to India who brought from their homes Painted Grey Ware, as evidenced by recent discoveries of Painted Grey ware,[49] in the upper Gaṅgā, Sutlej basins and the Ghaggar valley. The dasyu-s were more hostile to the Aryans, as reflected in the references from Ṛg.-veda, shown above. Tse Av.[50] also speaks of them as evil spirits to be expelled from the sacrifices. Elsewhere[51] we learn that the Aṅgirasas split the strongholds of these dasyu-s with the help of an amulet. There is little doubt that both dasyus and dāsas were pre-Aryans, earlier children of the soil, the more ancient people ; and if they were the authors of the Indus Valley culture, they were in no way inferior to the Aryan invaders, as they led a settled life of agriculture and fostered urban civilization. It may not be unlikely that those people who surrendered to the Aryans were accepted as dāsa-s, incorporated to the Aryan society as Śūdras in the later period ; but those who did not submit and offered stiff resistence to the Aryans were designated dasyus (robbers or evil elements) by the Vedic Aryans.

Pargiter[52] suggests that Brahmanism is a pre-Aryan institution. Indra has been depicted in the Vedic and epic tradi-

tion as a brāhmaṇa-slayer, i.e. Vṛtra, his foe was a brāhmaṇa and if so, brahmanism was already prevailing in India even before the advent of the Aryans, among the pre-Aryans. But the word 'brāhmaṇa' has been equated with the Latin 'Flamen', a type of priests, created during the regime of the 'Roman Kings'. The Atharvan priests of Vedic India may be taken to be prototype of the Atharvans of Iran. Thus though the brāhmaṇa is an Indo-European institution, yet the possibility of recruiting the brāhmaṇas as priests even from the conquerred pre-Aryans can not be set aside. Some of the black people of the pre-Aryan groups were heard of as seers in the Ṛv. The Aśvins are noted in the Ṛg.-Veda[53] (Yūyaṃ śyāvāya ruśatīmadattam) as presenting a fair-skinned girl to a black ṛsi. Kaṇva (Kṛṣṇa) is the seer of hymns,[54] addressed to a Aśvins. Dīrghatamas is noted as 'Mamateya' in the ṛc.[55]; and a later legend paints him as having married in the Aṅga country Uśij, a slave girl and begot Kakṣivaṇt.[56] Divodāsa is son of Vadhryaśva and father or grandfather of Sudās of the Tṛtsu family among the Bharatas;[57] and thus he is evidently a member of the Aryan group; Hillebrandt, however, suggests that he was a dāsa (heavenly dasa). Prof. R. S. Sharma[58] has rightly concluded that "towards the end of the Ṛgvedic period some of the black seers and Dāsa priests were worming their way into their newly organized Aryan community."

Now let us discuss whether caste-system existed in Vedic India or how it crept into Vedic society. From the above survey it is clear that the Vedic Aryans lived a tribal life in a classless society at least at the early Ṛgvedic age. Aryans and pre-Aryans—these two differing in colour were termed Aryans and Dāsa-s, only two Varṇas. Only in the Puruṣasūkta[59] at the latest stratum of the Ṛv. we come across 'brāhmaṇa' "rājanya" (kṣattriya), Vaiśya and śūdra—four terms but not in connection with varṇa. Some think that the word 'brahma-putra' in Ṛc.[60] (brahmaputra iva savaneṣu śamsasi) indicates that the brāhmaṇa formed a caste by birth, but Sāyaṇa explains it as 'brāhmaṇacchaṁśī' only, that is, a priest who was to recite śastras. Hence it is not unlikely that the formation of a caste by birth had not yet been made in the earliest phase of the Ṛgveda. The Vaiśya and Śūdra as a group are mentioned in the Puruṣasūkta and later on, in the Atharvaveda[61] and in Taittīriya Saṃhitā. The word 'brāh-

maṇa' occurs in many hymns of the Ṛv. from which it is clear that the brāhmaṇa was connected with the recitation of prayers and soma-drink and was highly respected. The ṛc[62] may be quoted here :—

"Brahma Jinvatam-uta jinvataṃ dhiye hataṃ rakṣāṃsi sedhatamamīvāḥ/
sajosasā uṣasā Sūryaṇa cha somaṃ sunvato Aśvinā//"—V.16
Kṣattraṃ jinvatam-uta jinvataṃ nṛn hataṃ rakṣāṃsi-sedhatamamīvāḥ/
sajosasā uṣasā..........Aśvinā// V.17
Dhenū jinvatamuta jinvataṃ viśo hataṃ rakṣāṃsi-sedhatamamīvāḥ/ V.18.

tr.—"You (Asvins), urge on Brahma, you urge on our thoughts, you kill the evil spirits, and subdue diseases, you urge Kṣattra (valour) and also men, you kill evil spirits ; You urge on the cows and also the viś." These verses speak of three classes of people, those who think and compose songs, those who show valour and lead men ; and those ordinary people who tend cows, evidently corresponding to brahmins, Kṣattriyas and Vaiśyas of the later period. But it is difficult to say whether one's caste was determined by birth in the earlier phase of Ṛgvedic culture. Nowhere we find in the Ṛv. any such indication on this point. Vasiṣtha is addressed as brahman in the ṛc[63] (utāsi Maitravaruṇo Vasiṣtho-r-Vaśya brahman manaso' dhi jātaḥ), born of Mitra and Varuṇa by Ūrvaśī and here nothing is said about his being born of a brāhmaṇa. Elsewhere in Ṛv.[64] (Somo rājā prathamo brahmajāyāṃ punaḥ prāyacchada hṛṇīyamānaḥ) Brahmajāya means wife of Bṛhaspati and not the wife of any brahmin by birth. The Ait. Br.[65] mentions distinctly that soma is the food of the brāhmaṇas, while the Kṣattriya was to press the tendrils of the nyagradha tree and fruits of Udumbara, Aśvattha and Plakṣa and drink their juice. These two classes are noted as separate groups but we find no trace of the fact that they had crystallised themselves into distinct entities by birth. The ṛc[66] (Ime ye nārvāṅg para-ś-charanti na brāhmaṇāso na sutekarāsaḥ/ ta ete vācham—abhipadya pāpayā sirī-s-tantram tanvate aprajañayah//) also lets us know of another class of people which came to be known as Vaiśyas in the subsequent period, taking to agriculture.

The terms 'brahma' and 'Kṣattra' occur in Rv.[67] and Av.[68] in the sense of prayer and valour respectively. In some places of Vedic literature they mean brāhmaṇas and kṣattriyas respectively (TB, III.9.14-"Brahma vai brāhmaṇaḥ Kṣattram rājanyaḥ"). Rājanya is used to mean a Kṣattriya in the Puruṣasūkta. But it is difficult to say that a kṣattriya meant a caste by birth in the earlier Vedic period. Rather the story of Devāpi and Śantanu in the Nirukta[69] and their mention in Rv.[70] show clearly that of these two brothers, sons of Ṛṣṭisena Devāpi took to penance and gave up kingdom and Śantanu became king and suggest thereby that priesthood or kingship was not hereditory. Hence these two classes, brahmins and Kṣattriyas were still in the fluid stage, not yet determined rigidly by birth, as in the later period. Dr. Ghurye[71] says that the Kṣattriya had become a compact body, on the basis of the ṛc[72] (navā u Somovṛjinam hinoti na kṣattriyam mithuyā dhārayantam). The authors of the Vedic Index comment: "At this early state of the development of the nobility which appears to be represented in the Ṛgveda, it was probably not unusual or improbable for a Vaiśya to become a Kṣattriya; at least this assumption best explains the phrase: claiming falsely a kṣattriya's rank[73] (kṣattriyam mithuyā dhārayantam)". Sāyaṇa explains this phrase: "Kṣattriyam kṣattram valam tadvantam mithuyā mithyābhūtam puruṣam na hinoti na visṛjati"—that is, soma does not urge on the crooked one, nor the kṣattriya who bears false. Kane[74] means to say that "one who is a kṣattriya but has no strength as a kṣattriya should have, is at the mercy of Indra" and he comments that "unless we project on notions of the later state of society and the caste-system,........it is hardly probable to hold that this verse indicates that it refers to persons making a false claim for entrance into a compact body of kṣattriyas by birth." We know that Purusavas was the son of a Ṛṣi and priest but when he became king, he came to be known as a kṣattriya. Likewise, the priest Vidathin Bharadwāja became a kṣattriya when he was adopted by the king Bharata. In the classless society of the earliest stratum of the Rv. any one could be a priest, if he so liked and we learn that the Atris, the Kaśyapas and Bhṛgu-Aṅgirasas —these three families specialised in priesthood but we must not take it in the sense that they formed a caste known as

brāhmaṇa. The younger brother of a king normally took to priesthood, as evidenced by the example of Devāpi. Viśvamitra calls his son of Kuśika[75] (Kuśikasya-sunuḥ). Kuśika is mentioned as a king in the Nirukta (II.24), but nowhere in the Ṛv. Viśvāmitra is represented as a king. He is rather a Ṛṣi to whom the third maṇḍala is attributed by tradition. He acted at first as a priest of Sudās and under his guidance the Tṛtsu Bharatas fought successfully against foes on the Vipās and Sutudri.[76] Thus the above tale shows that Viśvāmitra, son of Kuśika, a king became a Ṛṣi and a priest of Sudās. Hence priesthood was open to anybody who would have liked to adopt it.

The word :Vaiśya' occurs only once in the Puruṣasūkta and nowhere else in the Ṛv. We find frequent mention of Viś but in the sense of people in general in the Ṛgveda. Viśaḥ is associated with human beings[77] (mānusī-r-viśaḥ), with divine beings[78] (daivinuṃ viśām) and also with dāsa-s[79] (dāsī-r-viśaḥ). The Ṛv.[80] (Yat pañchajanyayā viśendre ghoṣā asṛkṣata) shows that people belonging to five groups (jana-s) utter prayer to Indra. Here we find little difference between viśaḥ and janāḥ. Nirukta[81] explains 'pañchajanāḥ' in the ṛc[82] as "gandharvaḥ pitaro devā asūra rakṣāmsītyeke. Chatvāro varṇā niṣāda-pañchamāityaupamanyavaḥ" In the Ṛv. kṛṣṭi, kṣiti and charṣaṇi are frequently mentioned in connection with pañcha and they mean 'people' in general like viśaḥ. So we can not explain viśaḥ as vaiśyas, a particular class of the Aryans who became stereotyped as a caste in the later period. Rather it is better to take viśaḥ as the common people of the Aryan stock as opposed to dāsas or pre-Aryans as denoted by the 'dāsī-r-viśaḥ' or to the members of the divine group, as denoted by the 'daivīḥ viśaḥ, as noted above.

Brāhmaṇas :

The Brāhmaṇas and three other castes find mention for the first time in the Puruṣasūkta, an admittedly late hymn of the Ṛv. Immer has strongly refuted the view that caste-system was already formed in the Ṛgvedic stage. He points out, on the other hand, that the Vedic Aryans on the Indus society were still unbrahmanised and these people, who had later on wandered further east 'developed the peculiar civilisation of the caste

system'. Muir[83] also argues that the word 'brāhmaṇa' is rare in the Ṛg-Veda and it denotes at first a sage or a peot and then a priest and in only a few ṛc[84] a priest by profession. The ṛc[85] which speaks of a brāhmaṇa, distinguished for genius or virtue and blessed with divine inspiration, may be quoted here :

"Tameva Ṛṣim tamu Brāhmaṇamāhu-r-yajñanyaṃ—
Sāmagāmukthaśāsam/
sa śukrasya tanvo veda tisro
yaḥ prathamo dakṣiṇayā radādha//

Here we may say that a brāhmaṇa of the Ṛgvedic age with its casteless system was subsequently turned into a stereotyped brāhmaṇa, as evidenced by the later Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas which witnessed the rise of a professional caste. Even the Ṛv.[86] shows the power of the Purohita in Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. The influence of this class on others is expressed in the ṛc[87] :—

"Sa it kṣeti sudhitaḥ okasi sve tasmā ilā pinvate viśva dānīm/
tasmai viśaḥ svayamevā namente yasmin Brahmā rājani
pūrva eti//"

—translation : "that king alone who places brahma first, (i.e. honours him) dwells happy in his house, for him the earth always remains prosperous and to him all the people bow down of their own accord. The term "Brāhmaṇa" is used in the Ṛv.[88] in the sense of a priest or one praising the gods ; and there is little doubt that priesthood was the normal profession of the Brāhmaṇas. Oldenberg[89] thinks that Brahman means simply a priest and that the purohita, afficiating at a sacrifice was more usually the Hotṛ priest ; and he became only later the Brahman. This change took place when ritualism rose to the highest pitch and the priest as a superintendent of a sacrifice rose to prominance, as he had repaired the flaws in a sacrifice by his magic.[90] The authors[91] of the Vedic Index remark : "It seems certain that in the Ṛgveda this Brāhmaṇa or Brahmin is already a separate caste differing from the warrior and agricultural castes." The Ṛcs[92], already quoted above, say so, though, of course, we are not sure that this caste was determined by birth.

The supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa is reflected distinctly in the AV[93] and TS[94] (Etevai devāḥ pratyakṣaṃ yad brāhmaṇaḥ). The same thing is told in Tai. Āraṇ[95] (Yāvatī vai devatā-s-tāḥ sarvā vedavidi brāhmaṇa vasanti tasmād brāmaṇebhyo vedavidbhyo dive dive namaskūryāt : Naslīlāṃ kīrtayedetā eva devatāḥ prīṇāti) and in SB[96] (Brāhmaṇo vā ārṣeyaḥ sarvā devatāḥ). The AV[97] mentions the consequences of harming brahmins or their cows. The TS[98] (Brahmanneva Kṣattrān vārānbhyati tasmād brāhmaṇo mukhyo bhavati) states that "verily he makes the ruling class dependent on the priestly class ; therefore the ruling class dependent on the priestly class ; therefore the Brahman is the chief" (tr. Keith). The Tāṇḍya Br.[99] (Brahman hi pūrvaṃ kṣattrāt) and Ait. Br.[100] (bhūyān vai brāhmaṇaḥ kṣattriyāditi Varuṇa uvācha) also express the same thing. In AB when Varuṇa was told that a brahmin boy would be offered instead of the Kṣattriya, son of Harischandra, he replied that a brahmin is indeed preferable to a Kṣattriya. Here we learn that even a brahmin boy by virtue of his mere birth is superior to a king's son. Thus it signifies that the caste system, as determined by one's birth prevailed in the later Vedic period and particularly in the later period of the Smṛtis.

In the Ait. Br.[101] a brahmin is noted as the recepient of gifts (ādāyi), drinker of the offering (āpārī) and āvasāyi meaning dwelling everywhere according to Weber,[102] or seeking food according to Muir,[103] and also according to R. S. Trivedi,[104] and 'Yathākāmaprāpya' i.e., moving at pleasure (or according to R. S. Trivedi, one who may be driven out of house by others at their sweet will). We find in TB[105] (na vai Brāhmaṇe Śrī ramate iti brāhmaṇō'nyo gāyed rājanyonyaḥ) that a brāhmaṇa and a rājanya (and two brahmins) must play on the Vīṇā (lute) in the Aśvamedha because wealth does not find delight in the brāhmaṇa.

The SB[106] (prajñā vardhamānā chaturo dharmān brāhmaṇam-abhiniṣpādayati brāhmaṇyam pratirūpacharyām yaśo lokapaktiṃ lokāḥ pachyamāna-s-chaturbhidharmaiḥ brāhmaṇaṃ bhunaktyarchayā cha dānena chājyeyatayā chāvadhyatayā cha) mentions four characteristics of a brāhmaṇa : purity of descent, befitting conduct, glory and the perfecting of people by teaching and his four privileges, honour (archā), gift (dāna),

freedom from oppression (ajyeyatā) and freedom from being killed (avddhyatā). Elsewhere the SB[107] mentions four varṇas and refers to a brāhmaṇa as 'bhagavant'.[108] The Kāthaka saṃ.[109] also states that he is provided with good food and entertainment whenever he goes. The Pañchaviṁśa Br.[110] speaks highly of his sanctity so much so as to exempt him from any question about his brahminhood. Elsewhere[111] it explains how Taranta and Purumilha became able to accept gifts by composing a Ṛg-vedic hymn. The hymns of the Ṛv., known as 'dāna-stuti' show how the Ṛṣis (seers and poets) were moved by excessive greed for sacrificial fees.

The Brāhmaṇas were mainly teachers of the society, specially they were the torch of spiritual knowledge, as evidenced by the Kauṣītakī Br.[112] (Tam hovāchājātaśatruḥ pratiloma-rūpamevasyadyatkṣattriyo brāhmaṇam-upanayīta) and the Bṛhadaraṇyaka upa.[113] (Sa hovāchājātaśatruḥ pratilomaṃ chaitad brāhmaṇaḥ kṣattriyam-upeyād brahma me vakṣatīti). When Gārgya, the brahmin came to Ajātaśatru, the king for the knowledge of 'brahman', the latter replied "this is contrary to the natural order that a brāhmaṇa should approach a Kṣattriya with the idea that the Kṣattriya will teach me brahman."

All the three varṇas—brāhmaṇas, kṣattriyas and vaiśyas were 'yajñīya', i.e., they could perform a sacrifice. But the Brāhmaṇas alone had the right to partake of the sacrificial oblation and hence were known as 'hutāda' and the rest three including śūdras were 'a-hutāda'.[114] The SB[115] states that the soma juice (and not surā) is the food of the brāhmaṇa.

Immunities of brāhmaṇas :

The brāhmaṇa was superior to the Kṣattriya. The king was the ruler of three castes but not of the brāhmaṇas. In the coronation ceremony the priest[116] announces to the people: "This man is your king. O ye people, Soma is the king of us, Brāhmaṇas." (Viśo eṣa vo' rājā Somo'smākam brāhmaṇānāṃ rāja). The TB[117] (Soma-rājāno brāhmaṇaḥ) also confirms it. Thus the brāhmaṇas were declared free from the exercise of royal power in the later Vedic period. When a king gives all his land and everything on it to the priest, the gift excludes the property of a brāhmaṇa, as noted in the SB.[118] The word 'anādyān' in the text 'brāhmaṇānevo' paddharati anādyān

karoti" shows that a brāhmaṇa is not to be fed upon or exploited by the king (ct. also SB, IV 4.2.3). The SB[119], however, warns that a brāhmaṇa who "knows naught of the aśvamedha" is "liable to be despoiled". Elsewhere[120] it speaks of the special privilege of a brahmin in a law-court: "if a brahmin and a non-brahmin have a litigation, one should support the brahmin; if one supports the brahmin, one supports oneself, if one opposes the brāhmaṇa, one opposes oneself, therefore one should not oppose a brāhmaṇa."

The ŚB[121] refers to Aśvins and physicians as impure and enjoins that "a brāhmaṇa should not practise medicine, for the physician is impure and unfit for the sacrifice." The next passage (vi. 4.9.3) states that one "should sit on the right hand of a brāhmaṇa when practising medicine; all medicine he performs thereby, his remedy becomes effective."

The position of the brāhmaṇa in the society was highly enhanced, as evidenced by the SB[122]: "Him who reviles him, he shall fine with a hundred; him who strikes him, he shall not behold the world of the Pitṛ-s for as many years as are the grains of dust which the blood in its fall seizes upon."... . Therefore, one should not revile a brāhmaṇa nor strike him, nor draw blood from him; for so great is his sin." Elsewhere[123] it declares that "doubtless a murder other than the slaying of a brahman is no murder....the slaying of a brāhmaṇa is manifestly murder. The TS[124] also ordains that "(a man) is a slayer of a Brahman (through slaying) an embryo which has not been discriminated." (Tasmād-garbheṇāvijñatena brahmā). The murder of a brahmin can not be expiated only by the performance of the Aśvamedha.[125]

The TS[126] (brāhmaṇān-adya rādhyāsam-ṛṣimārṣeyam-ityāhaiṣa vai brāhmaṇa ṛṣi-r-ārṣeyo yaḥ śuśrūvān) meaning "May I win a Brahman today, a seer and sprung from seers," he says, the learned man is a Brahman, a seer and sprung from seers," shows how stress was laid on the fact of being a descendent of a Ṛṣi and also on Vedic learning. The ŚB[127] also lays emphasis on descent and learning:—"A Ṛṣi, the scion of the Ṛṣis, for he who is renowned as the learned in sacred lore is the Ṛṣi, the scion of the Ṛṣis." Elsewhere[128] it insists on simply the utterance of the name of the student before his initiation for the life of brahmacharya. The cases of Satya-

kāma Jābāla,[129] Kavasa[130] and Vatsa[131] show how they were accepted as brāhmaṇa even in spite of doubts as to their origin. The TS[132], KS[133] and SB[134] insist on the pronouncement of names of ancestors even upto ten in the performance of a ritual. We come across the list of pravaras in which the ancestors of the priest were invoked at the beginning of the sacrifice by the Hotṛ and Adhvaryu priests.[135] The brāhmaṇa is sometimes spoken of as "everybody's friend", he harms not any one".[136] The Ait. Br.[137] refers to Viśvantara who wanted to expel the Śyāparṇas from the sacrificial ground on the ground of their utterance of impure speech on the latar. However, one of the Śyāparṇas, known as Rāma, son of Mṛgavu (Rāmo Mārgaveyaḥ) asserted his claim to be a learned brāhmaṇa and convinced him so much as to be gifted with a thousand cows and to be allowed seat in the sacrificial ground. This story shows stress on purity of speech of the brāhmaṇas and on their learning. The Bṛ Upa.[138] refers to the brāhmaṇas craving for knowledge and the life of begging.

The Brāhmaṇas aimed at efficiency in priesthood and secred knowledge even from the period of the Saṃhitās and specially in the later Vedic period. The TS[139] and VS[140] (Ā Brahman Brahmaṇo brahma-varchasī jāyatām) enjoin: "In the priesthood may a brāhmaṇa be born of spiritual glory". Here also we find the stress on sacred knowledge of the brāhmaṇas. The SB[141] also speaks highly of spiritual lustre and elsewhere[142] it enjoins that "whosoever (whatsoever Brahman, according to Kārva school) desires to be endowed with holy lustre (brahma-varchasī), let him set up his fires in spring, for the spring is the priesthood and he will certainly became endowed with holy lustre." The brāhmaṇa, being born, owes debt to ṛṣis and so "he is bound to study the Veda", for "one who has studied the veda they call Veda," they call the Ṛṣis treasure warden.[143] Elsewhere[144] it is eloquent on the blessings of the daily study of the Veda. The Bṛ Upa[145] speaks of the śrotriya as enjoying the highest pleasure of Brahmaloka. (Sa eko brahmaloka ānandoya-ś-cha śrotriyo' vṛjiṇo' kāmahato thaiṣa eva parama eṣa brahmaloka). The SB[146], KS[147] and TB[148] refer to three Vedas

(trayī vidyā) and other different branches of study which a student had to accept during the Vedic period.

Not only brāhmaṇas, but also charakas are mentioned as sources of knowledge about Vedic sacrifices.[149] It is interesting to note that brahmins are sometimes referred to as having spiritual knowledge from the Kṣattriya kings like Yājñavalkya learning from Janaka;[150] Uddalāka Aruṇi and two other brahmins from Pravāhana Jaivali,[151] Gārgya from Ajātaśatru[152] and Aruṇa Aupavesi with five brahmins from Aśvapati Kaikeya.[153] Janaka, king of Videha is referred to as becoming a brahmin (brahmā) and to whom many brāhmaṇas approached for spiritual knowledge.[154]

We learn of Brahmodya, i.e., a discussion on the nature of Brahman, taking place in the sadas of the sacrificial ground at the Aśvamedha[155] and also at the Daśarātra.[156] According to Tāṇḍya Br[157] the brāhmaṇas discourse on Prajāpati in this function. Brāhmaṇas were known as Ṛṣi-s vipra-s or kavis for their sacred knowledge, as noted in TS.[158] (viprā hyete yacchuśrū vāṃsaḥ kaviśasta ityāha kavayo hyete yacchu-śrūvāṃso brahma-śaṃsita ityāha).

Not only as a teacher, as noted above, but also as a priest and particularly as a Purohita a brahmin won a pre-eminent position in the Vedic society. The purohita was practically the chief advisor of the king in matters, temporal and spiritual. Even as early as the Ṛgveda we learn of Bṛhaspati as the guide and priest of Indra, who was placed by all Ṛṣis and vipras at the foremost place (tamṛṣayo.....puro viprā....dadhire).[159] The king who feeds Bṛhaspati with praises, cloth etc. shines successful overcoming all foes.[160] (Sa id-rājā pratijanyāni viśvā śuṣmeṇa tasthāvabhi vīryeṇa.. Bṛhaspatiṃ yaḥ su-vibharti....") and in the next ṛc (tasmai viśaḥ svayam-evā-namante yasmin Brahmā rājani pūrva eti) we find that when the Brahmin Purohita goes before the king, all people bend before him of their own accord. The Ait Br[161] gives us a definite idea of the office of Purohita. The king must appoint one brahmin as Purohita, while he intends to perform a sacrifice (rājā yakṣyamānaḥ). Sāyaṇa explains it also in the sense of 'a-yakṣamānaḥ', i.e., even when he would not perform any sacrifice. A purohita is described in AB as having five powers, known as 'meṇi' ('Paropadrava-

kāriṇī Krodharūpā śakti-r-meṇi-r-ityu chyate yathā agne-r-jvālā tadvat'—according to Sāyana) and is identified with Vaiśvānara. He being satisfied, the king succeeds in gaining power; kingdom and goodwill of the people and also heaven and that is why the Purohita is practically the protector of the State (rāṣṭragopa). The ṛcs[162], noted above, show the importance of Bṛhaspati, priest of gods and the AB states clearly that the human priest followed in the wake of Bṛhaspati. The 9th verse of the same hymn (apratīto jayati saṃ dhanāni pratipadyānyuta yā sajanyā) assures us that the king, being assisted by such Purohita, remains freefrom any attack from enemies and conquers the kingdom completely, with all its enemies of different types; and that the gods protect that king who offers wealth to the poor Brahman (Bṛhaspati or the human purohita) (avasyave yo varivaḥ kṛṇoti Brāhmaṇe rāja tam-avanti devāḥ). Thus the purohita was the friend, philosopher and guide of the king and under his guidance the king prospered. The AB[163] (purohitas tābhiḥ rājanaṃ parigṛhya tiṣṭhati samudra iva bhūmim) states that the priest surrounds and protects the king with all his powers (meṇi), just as the ocean girdles the earth; and the subjects of such a king live in perfect harmony and remain loyal to him, guided by a wise priest. Elsewhere the AB[164] states that the Purohita is half the soul of the Kṣattriya (ardhātmo ha va esa kṣattriyasya yat Purohitaḥ).

Besides Bṛhaspati, we learn of Agni as the Purohita of the gods[165] and Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭr, purohita of the gods in TS.[166] Not only gods, Asuras had Saṇḍa and Amarka as their purohita.[167] The AV[168] states that (Yo brāhmaṇaṃ manyate annameva sa viṣasya pivati taimātasya—verse 4) 'he who thinks the Brahman to be food, he drinks of Timāton poison and that he who injures the Brahman, the connection of the gods, he goes not to the world to which the Fathers go (yo brāhmaṇaṃ deva-bandhūn hinasti na sa pitṛyānam-apyāti lokam, verse 13) and elsewhere it[169] reports that "those who spat upon a brāhmaṇa or who sent their mucus at him, they sit in the midst of a stream of blood, devouring hair" (Yo brāhmaṇaṃ pratyasthīvam ye chāsmin-śuklamīvira/asna-s-te madhye kuīyāyāḥ keśān khādanta āsate—verse 3), and that "it leaks verily into that kingdom, as water into a split

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boat, where they injure a Brāhmaṇa, that kingdom misfortune smites" (Verse 8—"tad vai rāṣṭram-āsravati nāvaṃ bhinnam-ivodakam/brāhmaṇaṃ yatra hiṃsanti tad-rāṣṭraṃ hanti ducc-hunā) and also that a king who thinks himself formidable (and) who desires to devour a Brahman,—that kingdom is poured sway, where a Brahman is scathed (jyā)—(V. 6 "ugro rāja manyamāno brāhmaṇaṃ yo jaghatsati/parā tat sichatye rāṣṭraṃ Brāhmaṇo yatra jīyate//"). These verses of the AV show also the power and prestige of the Brāhmaṇas in the society and the regard and respect they extracted from the kings. The AB[170] also records an oath to be taken by a Kṣattriya king-elect just on the eve of this coronation ceremony that "From the night of my birth to that of my death, for the space between these two, my sacrifice and my gifts, my place, my good deeds, my life and my offspring mayst thou take, if I play thee false." (Yaṃ cha rātrim-ajāye 'haṃ yaṃ cha pretāsmi ted-ubhayam-antareṇa iṣṭāpūrtam me lokaṃ sukṛtamāyuḥ prajāṃ vṛṇjīthāḥ yadi te druhyeyam). This oath also shows how the king was eager to keep his Purohita always in good humour. The AB[171] records the penalty which the Kṣattriya king, Atyarāti Janāntapi had to pay for cheating his brahmin Purohita Vasiṣṭha Sātahavya.

But reverse cases are not wanting where the brāhmaṇas were maltreated. The hymn[172] refers to one 'Brahmajāyā' (wife of a brāhmaṇa) and the fact of her being given back to Bṛhaspati by all gods, ṛṣis, men and kings, as noted here, hints at some undesirable incident of her being kidnapped. The AV[173] speaks of such a brāhmaṇa's wife, (specially in V. 14: "nāsa kṣattā niṣka-grīvāḥ sūnanāmetyagratah yasmin rāṣṭre nirudhyate brahma-jāyāchittyā"), how she was sometimes obstructed through ignorance. The SB[174] lays stress on the appointment of the purohita: "a brāhmaṇa may remain without a king but a king should never be without a brāhmaṇa." The combination of the brāhmaṇa and the rājanya is for the welfare of both, as evidenced by TS[175] (Tasmād brāhmaṇo rājanyavān atyanyaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ tasmādrājanyo brāhmaṇavānatyanyaṃ rājānyam) which means that a brāhmaṇa who is supported by a rājanya is superior to another brāhmaṇa (not so supported), hence a rājanya, supported by a brāhmaṇa is superior to another rājanya. The SB[176] states

that the king who is not powerful towards the Brāhmaṇas, i.e. who is humble before the brāhmaṇas, becomes more powerful than his foes (Yo vai rājā brāhmaṇād-a-valīyān-amitrebhyo vai sa valīyān bhavati).

The influence of priests or Purohitas is evidenced by the fact that during the consecration ceremony the name of the king designate should be announced alongwith that of his priest; and a kṣattriya traced his gotra from a particular ṛṣi or priest. The AB[177] refers to the process of identification of the Kṣattriya after his initiation (dīkṣā): "nidhāya vā eṣa svanyāyudhāmi Brāhmaṇa evāyudhaiḥ Brāhmaṇo rūpeṇa Brahma bhūtvā yajñamupāvartata tasmād Purohitasyārṣeyeṇa pravaram pravṛṇir-r-anu"—i.e., because this kṣattriya throws away his weapons, takes the weapons of a brāhmaṇa and present himself at the sacrifice, he announces his initiation by the 'ārṣeya' of his purohita and would mention his pravara by the 'ārṣeya' of his purohita. The AB[178] states clearly that a number of kings were consecrated after the manner of the great consecration ceremony of Indra by their respective Purohitas and that they won victory everywhere so as to be paramount sovereigns. Here we find the supreme importance of Purohita-s in matters of administration and guidance of kings, of course these Purohitas being leaned enough to prove to be protectors of the State, as noted in AB (viii, 40.4). The SB[179] refers to Devabhāga Srautarṣa as the Purohita of two states simultaneously, viz. the Kurus and the Sṛñjayas. Likewise we learn of one 'Purohita named Jāla Jātukarṇya proving as efficient administrator of three states viz., Kāśī, Kosala and Videha at the same time from Śāṅkhyāyaṇa Śrautasūtra.[180] J. Basu[181] has remarked rightly that "this fact proves the close connection and alliance of these three states and the extra-ordinary administrative ability of the brahmin priest, Jāla Jātukarṇya by name."

From the above survey it is clear that the Aryans lived in a classless society at the initial stage of the Ṛgvedic period. Members of a family took to different professions, according to their tastes and capacity. Priesthood was open to all and a brāhmaṇa was not yet a caste, determined by birth. Even a ṛṣi named Dīrghaśravas is heard of as taking to trade as a merchant in the ṛc[182] (yābhiḥ sudānū auśijāya vaṇije Dīrgha-

śravase madhu kaśo akṣarat). Hence it is clear that the caste-system with well-defined occupations as in later days of Vedic age had not yet grown up in the earlier Ṛgvedic days. Restrictions regarding food and marriage among the Vedic Aryans are little heard of in the period of Saṃhitās. We have the earliest reference to social distance in matters of marriage in the AV.[183] where the brāhmaṇa is said to have the right to become the first husband of a woman as against the rājanya and Vaiśya. It was only in the later Vedic period, as reflected in the Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads the distinctions between four varṇas became manifest, as we find modes of address varying varṇawise. The SB[184] speaks of four terms, 'eti' (come here), 'āgahi' (approach), 'ādrava' (hasten hither) and 'ādhāva' (run hither), used respectively in calling the maker of oblations (harviṣkṛt) from the brāhmaṇa, the rājanya, the vaiśya and the śūdra. The position of brāhmaṇas became so exalted as to be called 'gods' on earth ('bhagavant') in SB.[185]

Kṣattriya :

The Puruṣasūkta mentions 'rājanya' (and not Kṣattriya) but the term 'Kṣattriya' has been used in earlier parts of the Ṛv. in the sense of one belonging to a group, connected with royal or divine authority, as in 'mama dvitā rāṣṭraṃ kṣattriyasya"[186] and in "Vāvṛdhānāvamatim Kṣattriyasya".[187] The Ṛv.[188] mentions distinctly three groups of people known as Brahma, Kṣattra, and Viś and in the later Vedic period the four castes, as noted in the texts[189] had taken a well-defined shape, one separated from others. The term 'rājanya' once used in Puruṣasūkta and often in other saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas, stands for any member of the royal family and also for nobles, though, however, originally traced from the royal family. The AB[190] gives us an idea of the difference between a rājanya and a Kṣattriya, because here a brāhmaṇa, a rājanya and a vaiśya ask a kṣattriya (king) for a place for a sacrifice (devayajana) but a kṣattriya (king) is enjoying here to ask the same from Aditya, a divine kṣattra with the mantras : "Idam śreṣṭham jyotisām jyoti-r-uttamam" and "Deva Savitar-devayajanam me dehi devayajyāyai". Thus the Kṣattriya's position in the later Vedic society was elevated

and a kṣattriya was at least a member of the ruling family. In the earlier Vedic period fighting was the boundem duty of each member of the Āryan tribe which, we have discussed before, knew no class-distinction in the tribal society and even viśaḥ (people) as commoners also engaged themselves in fighting.

Gradually four castes were formed in the period of the latest stratum of the Ṛv., as reflected in Puruṣasūkta and more prominently in the later period of the Brāhmaṇas. The rise of Brahma and kṣattra as noted before, shows how the kṣattriyas came to a closer understanding with the Brāhmaṇas for maintaining the balance of power in the state and society. We have also noticed how the brahmins as teachers and priests gained foremost position and even their superiority to kṣattriyas or kṣattriya kings, for their sacred knowledge and skill in sacrifices. The brahmins could by their sacrifices win power to entangle the kṣattriya with the people and thus "cause strife between the ruling class and the people."[191] (Etām-eva nirvapet yaḥ kāmayeta kṣatrāya cha viśe samadaṃ dadhāmi"). The MS[192] also states that a brahmin priest could create dissention between a Kṣattriya king and other Kṣattriyas. In AB[193] the Vaiśya is described as paying tax to another (anyasya valikṛt), as being devoured by another (anyasyādyaḥ) and as being oppressed at will. (Yathākāmajyeyah). This shows the status of a Vaiśya as related to the king. The passage of the KS (tasmād-rājanyenādhyakṣena vaiśyaṃ ghnanti") meaning "so with a rājanya as a supervisor they smite a vaiśya" also shows how the Vaiśyas were brought to subject control by the Kṣattriyas. In the Vedic period as early as the Ṛv. the Kṣattriyas were used to fight with bows, as reflected in the Ṛv.[195] and AV[196] and they were reputed for their authority, splendour and strength. Elsewhere in AB[197] (Ojaḥ kṣattraṃ vīryam rājanyaḥ) we find both the Kṣattriya and a rājanya identified with vigour and strength.

It is worth mentioning that in the earliest Ṛgvedic stage the socio-economic differentiation was still in the embryonic stage. The military leaders of the tribal society of the Vedic Aryans who came to be known as Kṣattra or Kṣattriya in the early vedic society had hardly any regular source of income like surplus grains or cattle for their maintenance. Vali, used

in the sense of tax, payable to their chief was but voluntary; and land belonged to the entire tribe. The early vedic society is thus conspicous by the absence of any sharp class-distinction. But things changed in the later vedic society, because the SB[198] (imā viśaḥ kṣattriyāya valiṃ haranti) shows the use of the term 'Kṣattriya' in the sense of a king who is fed on by the people (Viśaḥ). The king accepts revenue from the people, obviously in lieu of protection he extends to all. From the SB[199] we learn that the thunderbolt hurled at Vṛtra by Indra became fourfold of which two parts, the wooden sword (sphya) and the sacrificial post were utilised by the priests; whereas two others, the chariot and the bow came to be used by the members of the military caste (rājanya-bandhu). (rathena cha śarēṇa cha rājanya-bandhavaḥ).

It is not unlikely that Aryan kingship became hereditary even from the Ṛgvedic age and hence the members of the royal families came to be known hereditarily kṣattriyas. But we learn also from some instances that any Aryan member, even a priest like Pururavas, Vidathin Bhāradwāja came to be recognised as a kṣattriya, when he became a ruler.

A Kṣattriya was entitled to perform sacrifices and when he desired so, he had to perform first the 'dīkṣanīyā iṣṭi' by which he was initiated. The AB[200] (Sa kṣattriyāḥ dīkṣamāna eva brāhmaṇatām-abhyupaiti) shows how by initiation ceremony a kṣattriya could be a brāhmaṇa. From this we are sure of the superiority of the brāhmaṇas to the kṣattriyas. The Kauṣitaki Br[201] (Brahmā vai paurṇamāsī kṣattram-amāvasyā) points the brāhmaṇas as the full moon and the Kṣattriyas as the dark moon. In the later Vedic period the brahmins carefully guarded the sacred lore and did not allow the Kṣattriyas to gain it, as evidenced by the SB[202] which tells the story of a tiger killing the samrāj-cow of those who were sacrificing with (the king of the) keśin as their grahapati. The king went to know the method of atonement from Khaṇḍika Audbhāri, the only brahmin who knew this, but the counsellors of the said brahmin forbade him to disclose the mystery of atonement to the king of the Keśin. The brahmin, being thus induced, said; "if I tell him, his race, not mine, will prevail here, but I shall gain the other world; and if I do not tell him, my own

race, not his, will prevail here, but he will gain the other world. Some like Para Āṭnāra are said to have performed sattras. But it has already been pointed out that mutual co-operation between these two important classes led to the real strength and progress of the state. Either of these classes was regarded as a complete whole, while the rest two, Vaiśyas and Śūdras are noted as incomplete in the ŚB.[203] The AB[204] may be quoted here : "Just as heaven and earth work in concert for the smooth working of the cosmic process, just as the RK-hymns and Sāma-chants join hands for the completion of the sacrifice, so we, the brahmins and Kṣattriyas work in unison for the smooth functioning of the civic machinery." Though of the two, the brāhmaṇa was superior to a kṣattriya, as a teacher and guide of the king and the entire state, in the Rājasūya sacrifice the kṣattriya king was accepted by the Brahmin as superior. The SB[205] (Kṣattrāt paraṃ nāsti tasmād-brāhmaṇah kṣattriyaṃ-adhastād-upāste rājasūya) states that the Brāhmaṇa worships the Kṣattriya king from a lower seat in the Rājasūya. The three other castes follow the kṣattriya who goes first, as noted in SB[206] (Kṣattriyaṃ prathamaṃ yāntamitare trayo varṇāḥ paśchādanuyānti). The TB[207] (Yadāvai rājā kāmayate atha brāhmaṇam jinati) also records that the king could conquer a brahmin whomsoever he wanted to do so. Elsewhere the SB[208] states that the brāhmaṇa and kṣattriya enclose the Vaiśya and Śūdra ; and this points to a tendency of the combination of the two upper castes so as to bring the other castes under control. The Kauṣītaki upa.[209] describes Soma as eating the Kṣattriyas and Vaiśyas respectively with his two mouths, the brāhmaṇa, and the rājanya, implying thereby that the rājanya is required to pay fees, obviously sacrificial fees to the brāhmaṇa and the Vaiśya, to pay tax to the rājanya. The śūdra is left out here, probably for his inability to pay.

The rise of the Kṣattriyas in the later Vedic period is reflected in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. Aśvapati, prince of the Keikayas is referred to have instructed Prāchīnaśala and other brahmins in SB[210] and Ch. Upa.[211] Pragāhaṇa Jaivali's similar case in Br. Up.[212] and Ch. Up.[213] may also be mentioned as a teacher of the Brāhmaṇas. In the post-Vedic period the result of the Kṣattriyas against the orthodox school

of the Brāhmaṇas reached its climax when Gautama Buddha and Vardhamāna Mahāvīra founded new schools of Buddhism and Jainism respectively.

Vaiśya :

Even in the classless society of the early Ṛg-Vedic period we find different members of the same family working as a poet, physician and grinder, as reflected in the Ṛv.[214]; but this does not mean any social differentiation. In such a society, besides brāhmaṇas and Kṣattriyas slowly emerging, arose a number of craftsmen. Crafts like weaving, carpentry, tanning and painting were practised even by the Aryans in their original home, as evidenced by common words used in Indo-European Language[215] to mean the people of these crafts. Childe[216] suggests the prevalence of chariot-making even in the IE stage. Hence we may assume that a section of the Vedic Aryans took to different crafts and also agriculture and it is denoted by the term Viś, used in Ṛgveda. The term Vaiśya is used for the first time in the Puruṣasūkta. The term 'ārya' is also used in the sense of a vaiśya in AV[217]. The TS[218] (vaśameva asmā anuvartmānaṃ karotyetāmeva nirvaped yaḥ kāmayeta Kṣattriya cha visa cha samadam dadhami) uses the term 'viśa' in the sense of Vaiśyas and refers to the strife between the ruling class and the people i.e. viśaḥ or vaiśyas. It is interesting to note that the ancient Iranian society consisted of the commoners, besides Atharvas (priests) and Rathaesthas (fighters). Hence we may infer that the Vedic Aryans, even when they had no castes, were divided into three classes, brāhmaṇas, kṣattriyas and Vaiśyas.

The AB[219] (santi hi devaṣvapi jātiviśaṣāḥ, Agni-r-Vṛhaspati-ś-cha deveṣu brāhmaṇa kṣattraṃ yāni etāni devatā-kṣattrāṇi sa viśamasṛjata) refers to divine Vaiśyas, who being worshipped make the human vaiśyas rich. Vasu, Rudra, Ādityas and All gods (viśvadevāḥ) are mentioned as divine vaiśyas (yānyetāni, devajātāni ganaśaḥ ākhyāyante Vasavo Rudrā Ādityā viśvedavā Marutaḥ). Sāyaṇa comments on this text that the word 'viśam' here means subjects in general (prajāmātravāchi) or the vaiśya class in particular (Vaiśya-jāti-viśeṣavāchi). Elsewhere the AB[220] speaks of a vaiśya as one who pays tax to another (anyasya valikṛt), who is fed

on by another (anyasyādyaḥ) and who can be oppresed at will (yathā-kāmajeyaḥ). This passage reflects the helpless condition of the vaiśyas who enjoyed the right of the property or land on condition that he pays tax to the king. The Kṣattriya kings, we have noted before, enjoyed far better status than Vaiśyas and they realised tax from the people or Vaiśya class in return of the protection, extended to them. Again in AB[221] the pañchadaśa, trivṛt, saptadaśa and ekaviṃśa stomas are identified with four castes, brāhmaṇas, kṣattriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively and Vaiśyas and Śudras are enjoined here to be subservient to the Kṣattriyas. Viśam chaivāsmai śaudraṃ cha varṇam-anuvartamānau kurvanti). Sāyaṇa explains as Vaiśya-śūdra-varṇau Kṣattriyasyānugāminau kurvanti."

In the earlier Ṛgvedic period the Vedic Aryans lived in a tribal society and then whatever the warriors extracted spoils of war from the conquerred pre-Aryans, they had to share them with other members of the tribe and at this stage land was also owned by the tribe as a whole. So we find no instance of land grant at this period. But in the later Vedic age the chiefs or rājanaḥ realised a portion of the production of the land from their tenants who were either vaiśyas or sometimes śūdras. Cattle-rearing and agriculture were the main occupation of the Vaiśah or Vaiśyas. The SB[222] refers to a ritual called 'madhugraha' i.e. holding of the cups in the rājasūya, in which the Adhvaryu presents a cup to a Kṣattriya and another to a Vaiśya and by this the priest imbues the Kṣattriyas with truth, prosperity and light and smites the Vaiśya with untruth, misery and darkness. "anṛtena pāpmanā tamasā vaiśyam vīdhyati"). The AB[223] tells us how the hotṛ (brahmin priest) could perform the 'abhichāra' ceremony, sometime dividing the sūkta into three parts of nivid, aiming at destruction of the Vaiśya by the Kṣattriya and sometime dividing nivid into three parts by the sūkta, intending to kill Kṣattriya by a Vaiśya. This shows how the Kṣattriyas and Vaiśyas were controlled by the priests but elsewhere[224] it declares that driving Vaiśyas against the Kṣattriya king is a sinful act, obviously showing that the co-operation between these two castes or in a wider sense, four castes is helpful for running the society or the State smoothly. The AB[225]

states that at the rājasūya three higher castes could request the king to grant a place for the worship of gods. This shows the importance of the Vaiśyas in the matter of worship and initiation for sacrifices. These three castes were called yajñīya. The SB[226] (atha Brāhmaṇā chaivaitat Kṣattreṇa chaitau varṇau abhitaḥ parigrhṇita anapakrāminau kurute) states that "the Brāhmaṇa and Kṣattriya never go behind the Vaiśya and Śūdra......he thus encloses the two castes (Vaiśyas and Śūdras) on both sides by the priesthood and the nobility and make them submissive."

The vaiśyas or to be more specific, the Viśaḥ were the mainstay of the State on which the Brāhmaṇ and Kṣattriya rested, as noted in the SB[227]: "The second cake is the Viś, and whosover knows the second cake to be the people, secures for himself the people." The kṣattriyas who were in charge of the protection of the country and of its administration, had to depend on the revenues in kind levied upon people. The viśaḥ were engaged in agriculture, cattle-rearing and trade and so they had to pay to the king and the nobles revenue in lieu of protection. In the earleir phase of Vedic culture when classes or castes were not rigidly formed, each member of the Aryan group had to fight against his non-Aryan foe and even brahmins like Viśvāmitra and Vāsiṣtha had to accompany kings in battles and guide them. Baden Powel suggests that the Aryans at this stage had not yet taken to agriculture. The Aryans had to conquer the pre-Aryans and occupy their land which they tilled through the help of the dāsas and also sometimes of Aryans as their tenants; and they realised revenue from them. The ṛc (III.43.5) speaks of the prayer to Indra for his grace so that one may be the protector of the people (gopām......janasya), a king (rājānam), a Ṛṣi (sage), a drinker of soma juice, and a possessor of spiritual wealth for the attainment of immortality (amṛtasya śikṣāḥ). These aspirations indicate the social and economic differentiations among the Ṛgvedic Aryans at the initial stage and in the later stratum of the Vedic literature we find the rise of castes on occupation-basis, mainly the Brāhmaṇas, the kings or nobles and peasants and various other sub-castes on the basis of crafts. The ŚB[228] refers to śyāparṇa sāyakāyaṇa saying "if this my sacrificial performance were complete, my own race would

become the kings (nobles), Brāhmaṇas and peasants of the Salyas; but even by that much of my work which has been completed, my race will surpass the Salyas in both ways." Because "Agni" (the fire-altar) is (social) eminence and fame and an eater of food." Here we find the attitude of the Aryans in the later Vedic society towards different stations of life and their belief in the fulfilment of desires of life by the grace of Agni—representing Vedic ritualism. Thus not only the professions of brāhmaṇas and kṣattriyas, but also that of the Vaiśya,, occupied with peasantry and crafts of different types were recognized in the society as a mark of respect. The need of co-operation not only between a brāhmaṇa and a kṣattriya but also that between a kṣattriya and vaiśya is reflected in the ŚB which states that a vaiśya becomes possesser of cattle when he is under the control of a kṣattriya.

Śūdras :

We find the mention of four varṇas including the śudras for the first time in the Puruṣasukta of the Ṛv. and in the AV.[230] The term Śudra in the earlier AV[231] means only a tribe and not any varṇa. The fever 'takman' is asked to attack a wanton śudra alongwith the Mujavants, Balhikas and Mahāvṛṣas, all residing in north-west of India. Elsewhere[232] we find a prayer that fever should go to the foreign people. The śūdra tribe of the Vedic age may be believed to have continued its existence in the historical period, as evidenced by the Śūdra tribe, referred to as 'sodrai' in the account of Diodorus (4th cent. B.C.). Śūdra as a tribe (and not as a varṇa) is also referred to in AV. of the earlier stratum, viz. in AV[233] (tayāhaṃ sarvaṃ paśyāmi yaścha śūdra Utāryaḥ) where one desires to see everybody, whether Ārya or Śudra with the help of a herb, in order to detect a sorcerer. Here evidently 'ārya' and 'sūdra' correspond to two hostile groups of the earlier Vedic age, Ārya and Dāsa, noted before. Sāyaṇa explains Ārya as a member of three higher castes, following the later concept of the term, used in Dharmaśāstras. The Mbh.[234] also refers to śūdras along with ābhīra-s and other tribes living on cattle in the north-western region of India (Śūdrābhīrātha Daradaḥ Kāśmīrāḥ paśubhiḥ saha). The Śudra caste is differentiated from the śūdra tribe, in the

Mbh.[235] whom Nakula is said to have conqured in course of his digvijaya.

Scholars differ as to whether the Śūdras were Aryans or or pre-Aryans. The Śūdras are always mentioned with Ābhīras but not with pre-Aryan people like Dravidas, Pulindas, Śabaras and others. Besides, they are noted in the Brāhmaṇas as understanding the Aryan speech. So they may be taken to have some affinity with the Aryans. But the Sarasvatī is said to have disappeared out of her hostility towards the Śudras and Ābhīras in the Mbh.[236]; and so the śūdras might have been antagonistic to brahmanism. Weber suggests that the Śūdra tribe came to India earlier than the Aryans but because they are not mentioned in the earlier portion of the Rv., they might have come towards the end of Ṛgvedic period, i.e. near about the end of the second millenium B.C. when they were defeated by the Aryans and after submission, gradually absorbed as the fourth varṇa in the later Vedic period.

Bādarāyaṇa[237] gives us the derivation of the word 'śūdra' as the compound of 'śuk' (grief) and 'dra' (<dru=to rush). Śaṅkara, commenting on this sūtra, explains why Janaśruti was called a śūdra; because he rushed into grief (śucham-abhidudrāva), he was the object of rushing of grief (śuchā vā abhidudrāva) and he in grief rushed to Raikva. Janaśruti is said to have ruled along with Mahāvṛas in the region of N. W. India and hence he may be taken to be more a member of the śūdra tribe than that of the Śūdra varṇa. We should remember that dāsas or śūdras, as referred to in Ṛv. or AV, as opposed to Ārya varṇa were depicted as members of the tribal people and not as the miserable members of the śūdra varṇa, as represented later on in the later Vedic society and particularly in the period of the Smṛtis. The AV[238] hints at social distance between three upper castes but it is silent about Śūdras, probably because the śūdras as varṇas were still absent during the period concerned. Hence the question of Śūdras as varṇas, impure and untouchable in the early Vedic period does not arise at all. Dr. Bhargava[239] remarks: "It is not a little amazing that whereas the Āryas of the Ṛg-vedic period condemned the dāsas for being 'anyavrata' (observing strange religious practices), in the later Vedic period

the Āryas themselves discouraged the Śūdras from adopting the Vedic faith;" and points our attention to the marked distinction between Ārya and Śūdra in the later Vedic period.

The śūdras were reduced to the lowest status in the society in the later Vedic period (c. 1000 b.c.—c. 600 B.C.) when they became the servile class of the society. The śūdras are referred to in MS[240] as owners of cattle which the members of the higher varṇas took for use in their sacrifices. They are also depicted as 'possessed of many cattle' (vahupaśu) in the early Pañcha-viṃśa Brāhmaṇa.[241] Thus cattle-rearing was as important source of their income as early as the Saṃhitā period. But they are represented as being created from Prajāpati's feet and as earning their bread by washing feet in the Jaiminīya Br[242] (Śūdronuṣṭupcchandā veśmapati—devāḥ tasmādu pādāvanejyenaiva jijīṣati). The same Brāhmaṇa[243] refers to vaiśyas as wealthy but to śūdras as expert workers (dakṣaḥ karma-kartā). The śūdras were by this time excluded from the performance of any sacrifice which was exclusively confined within three higher castes. The TB[244] forbids the śūdras even from milking the cows for sacrificial purposes. The SB[245] states that the three higher castes alone are "yajñīya", i.e., competent to sacrifice" and that "he who is consecreted would commune only with them and not with a śūdra;" in connection with puruṣamedha, the VS[246] (Brāhmaṇe brāhmaṇaṃ kṣattriya rājanyaṃ Marudbhyo vaiśyaṃ tapase śūdram) speaks of the sacrifice of the brāhmaṇa to a brahmana, of a rājanya to the nobility, of the vaiśya to Maruts (a class of peasants) and Śūdra to hard labour (tapase), and this indicates the functioning of main four castes in the society. The same source[247] mentions other workers like charioteers, carpenters, potters, smiths, jewellers, hardsmen, shepherds, farmers and others as victims of the same sacrifice. The long list of these occupations show that various crafts were practised by the Vaiśyas, already noted before and also by the śūdras who are referred to here as meant for hard work (tapase).

Next arises the question of śūdras were slaves. The slaves, male and female in the earlier Vedic period have already been discussed. The AB[248] (deśād-deśād samolbhā-

nāṃ sarvāsāṃ-āḍhya-duhitṛṇām daśādadāt sahasrāṇi Ātreyo niṣka-kaṇthyaḥ) refers to gift of ten thousand female slaves with golden necklaces, captured by Aṅga to his priest Ātreya. Āruṇi, father of Svetaketu is said to have been owner of dāsis but no dāsa is mentioned in Bṛh. Up.[249] Even the Mbh.[250] refers to gift of dāsis to brahmins at the coronation ceremony of Yudhiṣṭhira. However, 'dāsa' is mentioned in AB[251] and Gopatha Br.[252] but it is difficult to ascertain if it meant a slave. Even the Nighaṇtu does not mention the term 'dāsa' to mean any servant or slave. Hence we may assume that the use of slaves in the society was restricted even in the days of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads. But things changed in the subsequent period of the Śrautasūtras when gift of land and of slaves working there was in practice, as evidenced by Lāṭyāyana Śrautaṣūtra[253] (dāsa-mithunau dhānyapalyaṃ sīraṃ dhenuriti,) from Śāñkhāyana Ś.S.[254] in connection with Puruṣamedha and Sarvamedha. ("Saha-bhūmi cha dīyate") with commentary 'sa-purusaṃ cha'.

Of course, the Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra[255] (bhūmi-puruṣa-varjam) and Kātyā Ś.S.[256] (bhūmi-śūdra-varjam) pronounce protest against such practice and indicate thereby the running of such system in the period concerned. The learned authors of the Vedic Index[257] think of the Śūdras of the Vedic period as serfs, working on fields which they owned on behalf of taxes, payable to their masters. But the Vedic Aryans living tribal life enjoyed land in common. Hence, in the earlier Ṛgvedic period land belonged to the clan as a whole and not to any individual. That is why land is said to have been given only with the consent of the clan and even in cases of such gifts we hear of the objection of the Earth.[258] Land-grant is, however, heard of in Ch. Upa.[259] (Taṃ hābhyuvāda Raikvedaṃ sahasraṃ gavāmayaṃ niṣko' yamaśvatarī-r-athaiyaṃ jāyā' yaṃ grāmo yasminnāsse' nveva mā bhagavaḥ śādhīti. . . .yatrāsmā uvāsā taṣmai vo' vācha) which speaks of the gift of a village by the king Janaśruti to Raikva. The gift of śūdras in the sense of serfs or slaves, enjoined in the Kātyā Ś.S., noted above, was, according to the commentator, allowed only in cases of born-slaves (garbhadāsa) and not of serfs labouring on land. The question of śūdras paying taxes to their masters for land does not arise at all, as we find references

from the Brāhmaṇas as to Vaiśyas alone paying so. The Pañcha. Br.[260] and Ś.B.[261] speaks of a Vaiśya as food for the nobility. The AB[262] also describes a Vaiśya as one paying taxes and oppressed at will (Valihṛt ajayeyyam).

It is interesting to note that crafts with which Viś or Vaiśyas and also Śūdras were occupied in the later Vedic period and which required manual labour as in agriculture and others, were not looked upon with contempt. Even leatherwork was not discouraged. The AV[263] and VS[264] and SB[265] testify to healthy attitude to agriculture, continued from earlier days, as evidenced by the King Janaka taking to it.

The Aryans did not like to marry the Śūdra girls, as suggested by the expression in SB—"śūdrāyad-aryajārā" which means that the śūdra woman is the concubine of an Ārya (a member of the three upper classes). In VS illicit connection between an Ārya and a śūdra is severely condemned. However, some instances like the cases of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa in AB[266] and Vatsa in PB[267] are enough to show that such undesirable marriages took place in the Vedic period and that alliances were held in great disrepute. However, nowhere we find any scent of untouchability with regard to these śūdras in the Vedic period, which disfigured the Hindu society in the later period of the Smṛtis. Rather the form of address, "ādhāva" in calling a śūdra suggests that the Śūdras were allowed to come to the sacrificial campus; and the Śūdras were gradually conquered not only physically but also culturally so as to be absorbed in the Aryan society by slow degrees. The injunction of the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, noted above, that the Śūdra must not milk the cow for agnihotra is meant only for avoiding the śūdras in cases of religious rites and it does not enjoin any sort of untouchability. The śūdra might have milked cow of the Aryan master for other purposes. The TS[268] speaks of the prayer to Indra of the Ārya Ṛṣi for expiation of the wrong done to Śūdra or Ārya (Vaiśya): "Yacchūdre yadartha enaśchakṛmā vayam." Prayers for the glory of the Śūdras as well as of the three higher castes (rucham viśeṣu śūdreṣu) in TS[269] and VS also suggest the softer feeling of the Aryans for the Śūdra community. The AV[270] is a similar prayer of an Ārya for being dear to both śūdras and Aryans. The VS[271] also speaks of the Aryan's desire for endearing himself to all

including the Śūdras (Yathemāṃ vāchaṃ kalyāṇīmāvadāni janebhyaḥ Brahma-rājanyābhyāṃ śūdrāya charyaja cha......) Hence, we may safely conclude that the Śūdras' alliance with the Aryans became gradually more cordial in the later Vedic period, though they were not still allowed to perform any sacrifice. The Āpas. Dh. S.[272] (Ārya prayatā vaiśyadeve nna-saṃskartāraḥ syuḥ) ; āryādhiṣṭhitā va śūdrāḥ sañskartāraḥ syuḥ") states that the Aryans, fully controlled, should cook food for the Vaiśvadeva sacrifice or the śūdras should cook under the guidance of the Āryas. This sort of permission to the śūdras evidently indicates a bolder step, taken for bringing them closer to the Aryans in cultural spheres.

Some Śūdras gained a better position in the later Vedic society, sometimes by reasons of personal ability and influence, as evidenced by some of the Ratnins like a rathakāra, takṣan, govikartana (huntsman) and pālagala (messenger) and a Senānī whom Sāyaṇa takes to be śūdra. These śūdra-ratnins signify their importance in the political life, no doubt but it is interesting to note that they are not specified by their varṇa-names. Probably they were not representatives of the śūdras as a caste but were members holding personal influence in the society. The game of the dice for the sake of a cow as part of Rājasūya also indicates the importance of four varṇas in the earlier society, as this cow-test was originally a tribal custom of earlier days to test the work of the leader. The Kāṭhaka saṃ[273] refers to another ceremony of Rājasūya where a sacrificer purchases splendour by the gift of gold to a brāhmaṇa, lustre by the gift of bow with three arrows to rājanya, nourishment by that of a goad to a vaiśya and longevity by that of a pot of beans to a śūdra. This indicates the existence of varṇa-distinctions and also the importance of each varṇa to the king, not excluding even śūdras who are mentioned as conferring longevity upon the king. Elsewhere in another ceremony of the rājasūya of ascending the four quarters of the sky, the consecrated king asks Brahma in the east, kṣattra in the south, Viś in the West and phala, varchas and puṣṭam in the north to protect him. Phala means, according to K. P. Jayaswal, a śūdra; industrial classes, according to Ghosal, but Prof. R. S. Sharma[274] thinks that these three terms, taken together might have indicated "the producing

activities of the śūdra". However, here is little doubt that four varṇas of the society are equally helpful in protecting the king from four quarters. Hence we may presume that there must have happened a new situation where the idea of oppression upon the last two varṇas, as reflected in AB[275] disappeared. The śūdras are noted as being engaged in guarding the horse of the aśvamedha sacrifice in Āpas. S.S.[276] The Kātyāyana S.S.[227] also refers to an 'āyogava' as a vigilant dog in the horse sacrifice. From the above references it is clear that all varṇas including the śūdras had some political power in the later Vedic period, though of course, the gradual importance of brāhmaṇas and kṣattriyas and their superiority to Vaiśyas and Śūdras were established. The legend of the king Viśvantara Sauṣadmana in the AB[278] throws immense light on the relative position of varṇas in the later Vedic society. Once this king performed a sacrifice without the brahmin priests known as Śyāparṇas. Rāma Mārgaveya—leader of the Śyāparṇas, however, rose up in protest and assured the king of the knowledge of food a king should take in lieu of soma in the Rājasūya. He says that if the king takes soma, food of the brāhmaṇa, his progeny will be a brāhmaṇa with his qualities, that is, he would be an acceptor of gifts, a drinker of soma, seeker of livelihood and he would be removed at will. (Yathākāmaprayāpyaḥ). If the king takes curd, the food of the Vaiśya, his progeny will be a Vaiśya with all his features, i.e., he will be tributary to another, will be subordinate to another and will be taken to task by another. But if the king takes water, food of the śūdra, he would be liked by śūdras, his progeny will be like a śūdra, i.e., servant of another (anyasyapreṣya) to be removed at will (yathākāmotthāpyaḥ) and to be slain at will (Yathākāmavadhyah), as Keith has translated these terms. Sāyaṇa's suggestion that 'Kāmotthāpya' mean that he would be made to rise up to work at the will of his master is more commendable. 'Yathākāma-Vadhyaḥ' also means, according to Sāyaṇa, that he would be beaten at the will of the master. The word 'vadha' means, also according to Nighanṭu both killing and beating. The epithet 'Yathākāma-Vadhya', taken in the sense of being killed at the will of the master led some scholars to assume that a sūdra had no vergeld in the Vedic age. The hundred cows'

'as a man's vergeld, irrespective of varṇa is mentioned in Ṛv.[279] and AB.[280] The Varṇa-distinction became more acute in the later days of "Dharmasūtras which prescribe different scales of vergeld varṇawise. There is no other evidence in Vedic literature to show that the śūdra was expelled and killed at the will of his master.

The TB[281] states that the first three varṇas were born of three Vedas, Ṛg, Yajur and Sāma. Hence we may assume that the Śūdras were debarred from the orthodox Vedic knowledge but they might have been allowed to know AV. The ŚB[282] also mentions that the priest could instruct snake-charmers, usurers, fishermen, birdcatchers, niṣādas asuras and Gandharvas, most of whom were śūdras and so the Śūdras could use the Atharvaveda, storehouse of knowledge in these subjects. The rule[283] of the Viśvajit sacrifice that the sacrificer would pass three nights with the niṣāda, the vaiśya and rājanya shows that a niṣāda was not completely dissociated with the sacrifice. Yāska's interpretation of 'pañca-janāh' shows also the right of śūdras to prepare the offerings for gods, alongwith members of other varṇas. The Kātyāyana Ś.S[285] records the right of the śūdra to offer prepared food (odanasava), of course, food being prescribed varṇawise. All varṇas could offer fruits[286] and could participate in the Mahāvrata. Like others, Śūdras could participate in funeral rituals in the later Vedic age, as the ŚB[287] prescribes building of sepulchral mound of course, differing in sizes varṇawise.

The chapter containing the Śatarudrīya hymn in the VS[288] shows how reverence is paid to different sections of the society belonging to four varṇas. The list does not mention the term 'śūdra' but the terms 'rathakāra', 'kulāla', 'Karmāra' and others, some of which belong to the artisan class, both Aryans and non-Aryans and also to the aboriginal tribe, as for example, niṣāda, puñjiṣṭha, śvāni, mṛgayu and others indicate that they belonged to the śūdra varṇa. Dhanukāra and iṣukāra, noted in TS[289] also belonged to the same category. It is known to us that Rudra was the god of the Vedic Aryans and Rudra-Paśupati was worshipped by both Aryans and non-Aryans ; and the remains of Indus valley civilization shows the Paśupati-cult prevailing in the Indus valley even before the penetration of the Aryans into the Sapta-sindhu

region. Rudra is also noted as the god of go-vikartana in Ratnahavīṃsi ritual,[290] taken by Sāyaṇa to be of low origin. The VS[291], while speaking of the origin of Vaiśyas and Śūdras from Prajāpati states that Day and Night were their presiding deities. Thus there is little doubt that the Śūdras had their own gods when they formed a section of the Aryan society and even earlier when they were the aboriginal people of India.

The śūdras were debarred from Vedic study. The Vedic text, quoted by Vasiṣṭha,[292] ("Gāyatrya brāhmaṇamasṛjata triṣṭubhā vaiśyaṃ na kenachid cchandasā śūdramitya-saṃskāryo vijñāyate") shows that how the śūdras were held unfit for the initiation ceremony (upanayana). Jaimini[293] lays stress on the Vedic text: vasante brāhmanam-upanayīta griṣme rājanyaṃ śaradi vaiśyamiti," which enjoins upanayana for the higher three castes. Thus the śūdras were not allowed to read the Vedas. But some cases of exception may be inferred from the text of chāndogya Upaniṣad[294] where we come across a story of Janaśruti and Raikva, already referred to, where Raikva addresses Janaśruti as a śūdra but teaches him the saṃvargya-vidyā. But the Vadānta-śūtra[295] (śugasya tad- anādara-śravanāt tadādravanāt śuchyateti) explains the term 'śūdra' not as a class but as meaning that sorrow (śuch) arose in Janaśruti on hearing the contemptous talk of the flamingoes about himself as a result of which he was moved by that; and thus it indicates that the śūdra as a class or caste was not allowed to read the Veda in the period concerned. The fact that the śūdra could not perform the Vedic sacrifices has already been discussed and Jaimini also concludes this fact after elaborate discussion in his sūtra.[296] But he refers to Bādarāyaṇa[297] (nimittārthena vādari-s-tasmāt sarvādhikāraṃ syāt) who advocates that all varṇas were allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices. The Bharadvāja Ś.S.[298] and Kātyāyana Ś.S[299] also show that śūdras were also allowed to perform Vedic rites. Thus women and śūdras were debarred from such sacrificial rights in the period of the latest stratum of the Vedic literature, when Vedic riruals gained more and more complexity and became practically the property of the higher three varṇas and specially of the rich who could afford to perform them; and when priests usurped the highest rank in

the society. The Mbh.[300] states clearly that sacrifices can not be performed by the poor (na te śakyā daridreṇa yajñah prāptuṃ pitāmaha) ; and hence it is most probably for poverty that the śūdras were so debarred. The Āpas. Ś. S.[301] allows a rich śūdra (Vahu-puṣṭa) some right, as keeping fire in his house. Some Śūdras were economically sound ; because they were owners of cattle and peasants tilling their own lands. But others were poor, servants or labourers, if not slaves. Rathakāra-s and takṣan-s, though śūdras, were given special honour, evidently for their skill in crafts, essential for the life of all Aryans and non-aryans.

The śūdras were looked down upon by others, obviously for their evil conduct, as reflected in the sale of one of his sons by Ajīgarta[302] (nāpāgah śaudran nyāyad-aśvamedhyam tvayā kṛtam) for which Śunaḥśepa condemned his father Ajigarta for his śūdra-like conduct. The story of Viśvāmitra in AB[303] states that when he adopted Śunaḥśepa as his son and placed him first in the rank of his hundred sons with the right of primogeniture, his fifty older sons revolted against their father and were cursed by Viśvāmitra to be reduced to the position of lower castes, Andhra, Puṇḍra, Śavara, Pulinda, Mutiba, Dasyu and anta. Here we find that these non-aryan tribal people were gradually assimilated in the Aryan society as castes of lower order. The word "anta" may be taken to Chaṇḍālas. The lowest position of the Chaṇḍāla is shown in Ch. Upa.[304] (ya iha Kapūyacaranā abhyāso ha yat te kapūyām yonim-āpadyeran śvayoniṃ vā śūkarayonim vā chaṇḍāla-yoniṃ vā) which states that people of good conduct will be reborn as a brahmin.

A kṣattriya and a vaiśya, whereas those of bad conduct will enter into the womb of a dog, as swine and a chaṇḍāla. The VS[305] mentions the sacrifice of a chaṇḍāla to Vāyu in the Puruṣamedha and so a chaṇḍāla, though of the lowest rank of the society can not be deemed to be untouchable.

Besides these four varnas, we learn of some more sub-castes, formed on the basis of occupation even in the Vedic period, which may be analysed here :—

Professions : The ṛc[306] (vapteva śmaśru vapasi prabhūma, refers to barbers who shave hair etc. Taṣṭā (carpenter or maker of chariots) is mentioned in another ṛc.[307] (ratham

na taṣṭeva tatsināya), in the ṛc.[308] (taṣṭeva sudrvam) in the ṛc.[309] tvaṣṭa rūpeva takshyā), in the ṛc.[310] (takṣāriṣṭam) and in the ṛc.[311] (Ahaṃtasteva Vandhuraṃ paryachāmi).

The ṛc.[312] (....rutaṃ bhiṣag) refers to a physician. The two elements compounded together in the name 'Atharvāṅgirasaḥ' make up the Atharvaveda and the first element refers to the auspicious practices of the Veda, bheṣajāni as in AV[313]. The PB[314] refers to 'ātharvanāni' as healing (bheṣaja). The KS[315] mentions 'Bhiṣaj Ātharvaṇa' as a mythic physician. The ṚV[316] (Kāruraham tato bhiṣagupala-prakṣinī nanā) shows how a brahmin could be a physician, while his wife would be an ordinary housewife. Elsewhere the RV[317] states that a brahmin is called a physician (yatrouṣadhīḥ samyagmataḥ rājānaḥ samitāviva/vipraḥ sa uchatye bhiṣag-rakṣohāmivachātanaḥ), who with the help of plants, cures diseases. The ṛcs[318] speak of Aśvins, Varuṇa and Rudra as physicians. Hence in the earlier stage we find no trace of disrepute of this profession, but later on, the TS[319] and SB[320] condemn the Aśvins because of this profession: "Tau devā abruvannattaputau na....Kāryam" in TS and SB, means—"the gods said to the Aśvins, "We will not invite you; you have wandered and mixed much among men, performing cures."

The ṛc[321] may be quoted here to show how the gods Aśvins who are conceived of as divine physicians cured wonderfully the cases of the lame Ṛṣi Parāvṛj, the blind Ṛṣi Ṛjrāśva and also of a Ṛṣi with a disjointed knee:

"yābhiḥ śachībhi-r-Vṛṣaṇā Parāvṛjam—
Prāndham śroṇaṃ chakṣasa etave kṛthah/
yābhi-r-vartikāṃ grasitām-amuñchatam—
tābhir-u ṣu ūtibhi-r-Aśvinā gatam//"

The above cases and specially the case of saving a bird from the attack of a tiger show how the physicians like the Aśvins were expert in healing lameness and blindness and in surgery curing the defect of the knee. Elsewhere[322] ("Jujuruṣo Nāsatyota......chyavānāt" we learn of an old decrepit Ṛṣi named Chyavana being restored to youth and strength by the Aśvins. Puraṃdhi, daughter of a rājarṣi won a son through the favour of the Aśvins who cured her husband's impotency. The same ṛc[323] ("charitraṃ hi verivācchedi parnamājā khelasya parita-

kmyāyām/sadyo jaṅghām-āyasīṃ viśpalāyai dhane hite sartave pratyadattam//") speaks of Aśvin's power of surgery when we learn of Viśpalā, wife of the king named Khela who had one of her legs broken but who was given an iron leg by the Aśvins who were pleased with the prayer of the priest Agastya. Another ṛc[324] speaks of the efficacies of different plants (oṣadhi-s). The learned authors of the Vedic Index[325] comment that "it would in all probability be a mistake to assume that the Vedic Indians had any surgical skill," as Zimmer[326] is inclined to do; and they think that "their medicine and their surgery must have been most primitive". However, the AV. consists of songs and spells for the healing of diseases and some of the spells are praises of the curative herb, and some others are prayers to the water to which special healing power is ascribed. Some songs of magic, contained in the Kauśikasūtra form the oldest stratum of Indian medical science; and these point out symptoms of some diseases. Hence the AV. is an interesting source of the history of Indian medicine. The knowledge of anatomy of the body of the Vedic Ṛṣis is mainly due to their practice of dissecting animals at the sacrifice and it is reflected in enumeration of different parts of the body in the AV.[327], the ŚB[328], the VS.[329] and MS.[330]

The ṛc.[331] (Brahmaṇaspati-r-eta saṃ karmāra ivādhamat) refers to a blacksmith. The AV.[332] also speaks of the Karmāra-s (Karmārā ye manīṣinaḥ) along with fishermen (dhīvānaḥ) and chariotmakers (rathakāra), all being called intelligent workers. The epithet "manīṣinaḥ", used here shows that some of these workers attianed special reputation for their skill in their art. The learned scholars, authors of Vedic Index[333] opine that "possibly a quasi-caste of smiths was already developing from the guild-organisation that probably existed." The ṛc.[334] (dhmāteva dhamati śiśīte dhmātari yathā) shows also the method of the work of Smith that he smells (dhmā) the ore in the fire. Elsewhere[335] (Karmāro aśmabhir....) we find that the smith prepares the arrows with the help of birds' feathers (parṇebhiḥ śakunānām) and we come across metal vessels (gharmaḥ......ayasmayaḥ) in the ṛc.[336] and also some cups, made of hammered metal (ayohata in ṛc., IX, 1.2). It is not unlikely that Karmāra had a digni-

fied position in the early Vedic society like rathakāra and others, but their position was degraded in the post-Vedic period when manual labour lost its previous dignity and that is why they came to be regarded as śūdras in Pāli texts.

The ŚB[337] means by 'grāmaṇī' usually a vaiśya. (Vaiśya vai gramaṅiḥ). We may expect that the Vaiśya gained the established position of the village headman evidently as a result of his richness. We come across a number of functional groups from the list of victims at the Purusamedha in the VS and TB, of which rathakāra and takṣan deserve mention. The ṛc.[338] refers to a takṣan (carpenter) as 'wishing to break wood into pieces." The AV[339] (yat tvā śikvaḥ parāvadhīt takṣā hastena vāsyā) refers to "a skillful smith who hath smitten thee away with the hand by a knife." The term "rathakāra" is conspicuously absent in ṚV, but the AV[340] mentions the intelligent rathakāra-s as dependents (Upasti-s) of the king along with clever smiths. The Paippalāda recession of the AV mentions takṣā, rathakāra and karmāra in the same verse[341], showing thereby the obvious difference between the takṣā (carpenter) and rathakāra (chariot-maker). Both 'takṣā' and 'rathakāra' are mentioned in VS[342] in connection with offering to Rudra. Elsewhere[343] they are clearly distinguished as "medhāyai rathakāraṃ dhairyāya taksāṇam," meaning thereby that the rathakāra is to be consecreted to skill, whereas the takṣā to perseverance. Hence we may infer that the carpenter worked on wood patiently of a cruder type, while the rathakāra won reputation as a maker of chariots, used for war and for a higher section of the community. The learned authors of the Vedic Index[344] think that the ṛc[345] refers "to the pains of the carpenter in bending over his work" and that it was "certainly not true of Vedic times" that "the carpenters were a lost caste or formed a separate class of the people." But in the period of the Brāhmaṇas the carpenters were taken to be impure, as reflected in the ŚB[346] which enjoins "whatever of these (gods) is touched by the impure carpenters or one not fit for sacrifice, that he (performs) purifies by (sprinkling) water (on it)". It may not be unlikely that the people cherished an idea of offence to the woodland spirit in the desecration of the tree. That is why the carpenter working in wood, cut by him is held im-

pure, whereas the rathakāra working on dead or cut wood was above any such impurity.

Now the question is whether the rathakāra was a brāhmaṇa, a twice-born or a śūdra. The TB[347] enjoins that "a brāhmaṇa should consecrete fires in the spring, the kṣattriya in summer, the Vaiśya in autumn but a rathakāra in the rainy season." Sāyaṇa answers that he would be a brāhmaṇa etc., if the word 'rathakāra' is broken into component parts but through convention a different class is meant; and for his ādhāna the rainy season is prescribed; Jaimini also in his Mīmāṃsā sūtra[348] discusses the question and concludes that this is a caste called Saudhanvana, i.e., he is neither a sūdra nor one of the twice-born but is below a vaiśya and superior to śūdra. The ŚB[349] prescribes the house of the rathakāra to be the abode of that brāhmaṇa who knows nothing of the aśvamedha and from this we may surmise that the rathakāra was of established position in the then society and there is little evidence for substantiating the later theory of Yājñavalkya-Smṛti[350] that the rathakāra was the mixed product by the intercaste marriage between a Māhiṣya and a Karaṇī, showing thereby their degraded position in the Gupta period. According to Satyāṣāḍhakalpa[351] (niṣāda-rathakārayo-r-ādhānād-agnihotraṃ Darśa-Pūrṇamāsau ca niyamyete) both the niṣāda and rathakāra are entitled to perform Agnihotra and Darśa-Pūrṇamāsa.

Kirāta, evidently a non-aryan or one belonging to an aboriginal tribe is referred to in Tāṇḍya Br[352], VS[353], AV[354] and TB.[355] A Kairātikā[356] means a girl digging a remedy on the ridges of the mountains. Paulkasa and Chaṇḍāla, belonging to the lowest rung of the society are already mentioned before. Charmakāra is mentioned in Viṣṇu DS[357] and Āpas DS[358]. Chaila-nirṇejaka (Washerman) is found in Viṣṇu DS.[359] Tantuvāya or Kuvinda is regarded as a śūdra by the author of the Mahābhāṣya (on Pāṇini, II. 4.10) and is also mentioned in Viṣṇu DS.[360] Dāsa (a fisherman) is heard of in an Upaniṣad, according to Vedantasūtra.[361].

Duties of different Varṇas :

From the above study we learn that brahmins became more devoted to Vedic study and Vedic sacrifices and were

interested in philosophy or Brahma-Vidyā even from the early Vedic age. We have noticed in the previous discussion that some brahmins approached Kṣattriya kings for brahma-vidyā, as for example, Yājñavalkya from Janaka[362], Bālāki Gārgya from Ajātaśatru[363], Śvetaketu Āruneya from Pravahāna Jaivali[364] and five brāhmaṇas from Aśvapati, king of Kekaya[365]. From these evidences we may infer that some kṣattriya kings were masters of Vedas and Upaniṣads. But that does not mean that Kṣattriyas were pioneers in Brahma-vidyā. Because we hear of seeds of later philosophy even in some hymns of the ṚV, AV, and some Brāhmaṇas, some Upaniṣads refer to some brāhmaṇas who taught philosophy in their own ways. The four verses known as Vidyāsūkta contained in the Nirukta[366] also indicate the fact that the brāhmaṇa were repositories of 'Vidyā' because Vidyā is said to have come to the brāhmaṇa and requested him to guard her as his treasure. The Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali of the post-Vedic period (2nd cent. B.C.) also quotes a Vedic passage meaning that a brāhmaṇa should read and understand the Veda with its six subsidiary branches like phonetics etc. without any motive of profit. (brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo' dhyeyo jñeya iti). The TS[367] enjoins a ritual for a bad brahmin (dur-brāhmaṇah) in whose family soma-drinking ceased for generations and who himself desired to drink soma, meaning thereby cessation of performance of Vedic soma-sacrifices for generations.

Brahmins were probably teachers of the Vedic lore from the very early Vedic period as reflected in the ṛc[368] which states that the son was taught Veda by his father just orally by repetition of words uttered by the father. The son's learning from the father is also attested by the tale of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya.[369] The brāhmaṇa literature shows definitely that the brahmins were the real teachers of Vedas, though of course, some kṣattriya kings, already noted before, are referred to as teaching some brahmins.

The brahmins alone could be engaged as priests, as Jaimini says ("brāhmaṇānām vetarayo-r-ārtvijyābhāvāt); but the ṚV[371] states that Devāpi was the priest of Śantanu. The Nirukta[372] states that they were brothers and descendants of Kuru. So if the Nirukta is right, even a Kṣattriya might

have acted as a purohita as well. However, the ṚV is silent about the relationship between Devāpi and Śantanu. Hence we can not definitely say what was the state of things in the earlier Ṛgvedic period, in view of the fact that the Vedic Aryans lived a class-less life at the initial stage, already pointed out; but the gradual rise of caste system and particularly of the Brāhmaṇas, as priests in the later Vedic period admits of no doubt.

The system of receiving gifts by the brahmins is evidenced by the hymn of the ṚV[373], known as dānastuti which speaks of generosity in general and of a brahmin earning better than the silent one (Vadan brahmāvadato vanīyān-in verse 7) and also by the AV[374] which knows not only of four castes but mentions the highest privileges claimed by the priestly caste. The Brāhmaṇas were but gods in the later Vedic period, as evidenced by TS[375] and ŚB.[376] The inviolability of the brahmins is also heard of in some of the magic incantations of the AV, the Bṛ. Upa.[377] mentions that gifts from unworthy persons and the act of officiating as priests for the unworthy brāhmaṇas are prohibited. ("Sa hovācha Yājnāvalkyaḥ pitā me' manyata nānanuśiṣya hareteti).

Agriculture as a means of occupation is recommended in the Vedic literature. The ṛc[378] known as gambler's song states clearly: "Akṣair-mā dīvyaḥ kṛṣimit kṛṣasva vitte ramasva vahu manyamānaḥ/tatra gāvaḥ kitava tatra jāyā tanme vi chaṣṭe savitāramaryaḥ//"—i.e. "Do not play with dice. Do engage in agriculture, thinking highly of my words (or of wealth), do find joy in wealth, in that (agriculture) there are cows, there is your wife etc." Elsewhere[379] ("Yuñkta sīrā vi yuga tanudhvaṃ kṛte yonau vapateha vījam") we find reference to fields, ploughshares and tilling the soil. The identity of expressions "yovaṃ kṛṣ" and "sasya" in ṚV, with "Yavo karesh" and "hahya" in Avesta shows that agriculture was the means of occupation of the Aryans even in their stage of Indo-Iranian life, i.e., when the Indian Aryans were not separated from their Iranian brethern. The Aśvins are eulogised as being associated with the sowing of grains by means of plough in the ṚV.[380] Pṛthī Vainya is also credited with the origination of ploughing in AV[381] and ploughing is repeatedly referred to in the later Saṃhitas[382] and in Brāhmaṇas[383].

The ŚB[384] refers to different operations of agriculture like ploughing, sowing, reaping and threshing.

It has already been suggested that the Vedic Aryans probably learnt the art of agriculture from the pre-Aryans and took to it as means of occupation. Agriculture is frequently mentioned in the first and tenth Books of RV but rarely referred to in family books. Hence we may infer that only in later Ṛgvedic period the Vedic Aryans took more interest in agriculture; and in later Vedic period the Aryans utilised the services of slaves or śūdras working on land, owned by individuals. In the post-Vedic period the brahmins were turned away from agriculture, as evidenced by Bodh.D.S[385], (vedāh kṛṣivināśāya kṛṣir-vedavinaśinī/śaktimān ubhayam kuryād aśaktastu kṛṣim-tyajet//") which states that the study of the Veda tends to destruction of agriculture and (devotion) to agriculture tends to the loss of (study of) the Veda. One who has the capacity (to look after both) may resort to both, but he who is unable (to look after both) should give up agriculture." Even Bodhāyana[386] speaks of brahmins, engaged in agriculture before his morning meal. This shows that brahmins continued works of agriculture even upto the period of Smṛtis under special circumstances. We learn of brāhmaṇas following the profession of a Kṣattriya from Pāṇini[387] teaching the formation of the word :brāhmaṇaka' meaning "a country where brahmins follow the profession of arms." The Mbh[388] (rājño niyogād yoddhavyaṃ brāhmaṇena viśeṣataḥ) states distinctly that a brahmin should fight at the order of the king.

The superiority of brāhmaṇas has already been mentioned, even in the Vedic period they were regarded as gods on earth. The ŚB[389] also expresses the same idea: "The Sun would not rise if the brāhmaṇa did not make sacrifice". Even the ṚV[390] states in the refrain (somasya tā mada Indraś-Chakāra) what Indra did heroic deeds under the intoxication of the soma, offered by the priests in the sacrifices. The expression "brāhmaṇo'sya mukhumāsīt" in the Puruṣasūktạ confiirms the superiority of the Brāhmaṇa as a class even at the latest stratum of the RV. There is no doubt that the brāhmaṇas were creators and custodians of the vast Vedic literature and their contribution to the culture of ancient Indian society

and living on such gifts as were voluntarily made may be taken to be an example to all others; and the person of a brāhmaṇa was regarded as sacred from Vedic period as evidenced by the TS[391] (api vaitena brahma-hatyāmataran sarvaṃ pāpmānaṃ tarati tarati brahmahatyām yo' śvamedhena yajate) which means that he who performs the horse sacrifice gets rid of all sins, even the great sin of brahmin-murder. Brahmin-murder has been declared as one of five mortal sins in Chāndogya Upaniṣad[392] (Brahmahā-chaite patanti). The TS[393] states that he who threatens a brāhmaṇa should be fined a hundred, he who strikes a brāhmaṇa should be fined a thousand, he who draws blood would not reach the abode of pitṛ-s for as many years as the dust-particles that may be made into a paste by the quantity of blood drawn." (Yo' pagurātai śatena yātayād yo nihanat sahasreṇa yātayād yo lohitaṃ karavad yāvataḥ praskandya pāṃśūn saṃgṛṃhīyāt tāvataḥ saṃvatsarān pitṛlokaṃ na prajānāditi. Tasmād-brāhmaṇaya nāpagureta na nihanyān-na lohitaṃ kuryāt"). Therefore we should not threaten a brāhmaṇa with assult nor strike him nor draw his blood.

Slavery

"To the ancient mind slavery was a fixed and accepted element of life and no moral problem was involved. That slavery already was established as a recognized institution in the Sumerian culture of the Babylonian area in the 4th millenium B.C may be confidently assumed from the fragments of Sumerian legislation upon slaves which date from the first half of the 3rd millenium[394]." Slavery in Egypt, Greece and Rome and other European countries in ancient times, as in Babylon is well-known to us.

Slavery in some shape in the Ṛgvedic period has already been discussed in connection with dāsa-s and dasyu-s, as attested by gift of dāsas and more of dāsī-s in RV. The TS[395] (udakumbhānadhinidhāya dāsyo Mārjālīyaṃ parinṛt yanti......) also speaks of slave girls dancing round the Mārjālīya fire with water pots on their heads, beating the ground with their feet and singing 'this is money'. Female slaves are also referred to in AV[396]. Nachiketas[397] is depicted as being tempted by Yama with the boon of some hand-

some women with chariots and musical instruments which would be gifted instead of the mistery of death. These women were most probably female slaves who could be used as maids and who could dance and sing. The Bṛh. Upa[398] (hovācha Yājñavalkyaḥ, so'haṃ Bhagavate Videhān dadāmi māṃ chāpi saha dāsyāya iti") states that Janaka, after receiving instruction in Brahmavidyā from Yājñavalkya, proclaims: "I make a gift to your honour of the Videhas together with myself for being your slave. "Elsewhere[399] it refers to human boons like gold, cows, horses, female slaves and clothes (hasti-hiraṇyasyāpāttaṃ go-aśvānāṃ dāsīnāṃ pravārāṇāṃ paridānāya) which are generally coveted by ordinary men. The Chāndogya Upa.[400] refers to a talk between Aśvapati and Pauluṣi in which the latter is praised to have won chariot with mules, female slaves and golden necklaces as reward of the worship of the Sun. Elsewhere[401] it states that Sanatkumāra tells Nārada that people on earth regard cows and horses, elephants and gold, slaves and wives and fields and houses as greatness. From the above survey it is clear that slavery was prevalent in the Vedic and that slaves, both male and female were offered as gifts, obviously as agents of economic benefits, these being used in houses and fields for production.'

It should be noted here that the śūdras, though mentioned in AB as 'yathakāma-vadhya', i.e., 'liable to be beaten or even killed, were not treated as slaves, as evidenced by Jaimini[402] (śūdra-ś-cha dharmaśāstratvāt)' who says that a man, even while making a gift of everything he possesses, as required in the Viśvajit sacrifice, must not make, a gift of a śūdra who is engaged as his servant. Śabara makes it more clear by saying that the giver has no power over the śūdra, if he is unwilling. "na chānicehata-s-tasya sa prabhavati").

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6. iii. 5.6.
7. iii. 5.6-7.
8. II. 12.4.
9. I. 179.2.
10. 1. 130.8.

11. III. 34.9.
12. IX. 71.2.
13. I. 2.6.
14. II. 11.4.
15. II. 15.4.
16. I. 51.8 ; I. 176.3 and vi. 14.3.
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19. Rv. V. 29.10.
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66. x. 71.9.
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69. 2.10.
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378. X. 4.13.
379. X. 101.3.
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CHAPTER II

(Saṃskāra-s)

Sacraments

Sañskāra or sacrament is frequently heard of in the Smṛti literature, but the Vedic literature shows its use rarely. The word 'saṃskṛta', however, occurs in the RV[1], ŚB[2] and VS.[3] The Ch. Up.[4] (Tasmādeṣa eva yajña-s-tasya manaśoha vāk cha vartani tayo-r-anyatarāṃ manasā saṃskaroti Brahmā vāchā hotā/) mentions that "there are two ways of sacrifice, mind and speech ; Brahmā (the priest) polishes one of them by his mind." There are some hymns of the RV which are particularly concerned with popular rites like the wedding, conception, funeral etc. Hence these Vedic verses indicate that there was an earlier stage in the Rgvedic period when some forms of rituals akin to saṃskāras of the later Vedic or post-Vedic period were performed. These hymns, of course, do not contain any positive rules but contain, without any doubt references to sacraments. The AV is richer in information about such popular rites and ceremonies. Some hymns of the AV are prayers for protection of the pregnant women, the unborn and new born child and so on. Ridgeway thinks that the AV represents the beliefs of the aboriginal people. But Dr. R. B. Pandey[5] is justified to remark that "the Indo-Aryans assimilated many non-Aryan elements in their religion but the lower strata of the Aryan community were not less interested in the lower side of religion than the non-Aryan population." However, customs were the only source of the saṃskāra-s, prevailing in the Vedic Aryan society, before they were codified in the Gṛhyasūtras. The Āsvalāyana Gṛ.S.[6] refers to customs and usages of different provinces and villages, high and low, which should be consulted in marriage. It may be noticed here that some of the Vedic saṃskāra-s find their parallel prevailence even in the pre-Vedic society, as evidenced by the Avesta which refers to some practices like the birth ceremonies, the first eating of food and initiation ceremonies. Even the Greek and Roman religions show per-

formation of rituals, specially marriage ceremonies similar to these of the Veuic Aryans in broad outlines. Though saṃskāra is rarely heard of in Vedic literature, the ŚB[7] contains fragments of some saṃskāras like upanayana, funeral etc. In this creative period saṃskāra-s were flexible, true to life and that is why they were adapted to different localities and different times. Every Vedic family performed its rituals in its own traditional way. Jaimini in his sūtras mentions this term saṃskāra in so many places in the sense of some purificatory act in a sacrifice. Though saṃskāra is frequently used in Dharmasūtras or Dharmaśāstras in the sense of a sacrament which prevails still today and which is conspicously absent in Vedic literature, we may scent its use or practice in the Vedic literature as noted below :—

Garbhādhānam

In the beginning procreation was a natural function. But in course of time it was given a religious halo and this saṃskāra, as hinted in Vedic hymns presupposes the cultural life of the Aryans with the introduction of marriage system, a well known well established home and craving for children, specially sons. In the Vedic period the Aryans felt the greater need of valient sons for fighting out the non-Aryans and hence we find many prayers for sons in the Ṛ̣V (1.89.9 and VIII.35.10). The Tait. Sam. (VI.3.10.5—"Jāyamāno vai brāhmaṇa-s-tribhi-r-ṛṇavān jāyate brahmacharyeṇa Ṛṣibhyo Yajñana devebhyaḥ prajayā pitṛbhyaḥ. Eṣa vā ṇṛno yaḥ putroyajvā brahmachārī vā syāditi) refers to the theory of three debts when it states that a brāhmaṇa on birth is born with a threefold debt of pupilship to Ṛṣis, of sacrifice to gods and of offspring to Pitṛ-s. He is freed from his debt who has a son, is a sacrificer and who has lived as a pupil." The similes and references in Vedic hymns like the AV (VI 9) show how to approach a woman for conception and indicate thereby the prevalence of some sorts of simple ceremony regarding conception in that hoary antiquity. The AV (XIV. 2.31—) "Ā roha talpaṃ sumanasyamāneha prajāṃ janaya patye asmai") refers to an invitation to wife to mount the bed for conception with a happy mind with a view to give birth to progeny for the husband. The ṛc (X.85.37—"Tāṃ

Pūṣañcchivatamā merayasva yasyām vījam manuṣyā vapanti/ yā na ūrū uśatī viśrayāte yasyāmuśantaḥ praharāma śapam") refers to the actual copulation. From these references we infer some sort of ceremony in connection with the conception in the Vedic age. However, the Gṛhyasūtras deal more systematically with this sacrament to be performed with observance of different vows for different types of sons. The majority of Gṛhyasūtras prescribe the fourth night for conception. The Praśno'paniṣad (i.13) enjoins that night is fit for cohabitation ("Brahmacharyameva tad yad-rātvau tatyā saṃyujyante"). The husband alone was entitled to perform this rite, though of course, the ṛc (X.40.2—"Ko vāṃsayutrā vidhaveva devaraṃ maryaṃ na yoṣā kṛṇute sadhastha ā") (refers to a widow inviting her brother-in-law to raise children for her husband. The Nirukta (iii.15) also mentions this practice. Considering the political and economic life of the Vedic Aryans and the theory of evolution of three debts, noted above, we may think that this was a compulsory sacrament.

Garbhādhāna

Let us begin our study with 'garbhādhāna'. Two verses may be quoted here, with translation in English.

1) Viṣṇu-r-yoniṃ Kalpayatu tvaṣṭā rūpāṇī piṃśatu/
ā siñchatu Prajāpati-r-dhātā garbhaṃ dadhātu te//[8]

and

2) Garbhaṃ dhehi sinīvāli garbhaṃ dhehi Sarasvati/
garbhaṃ te Aśvinau devāvā dhattaṃ puṣkara-srajā//[9]

tr. I) Let Viṣṇu prepare the womb, let Tvaṣṭṛ adorn the forms, let Prajāpati pour on, let Dhātar plan their embryo. and 2) Place the embryo, O sinīvāli, place the embryo, O Saraswatī, let both the Aśvins, garlanded with blue lotus, set thine embryo.

These two verses occur in Bṛ Upa.[10] The Bṛ. Upa[11] may be translated here: "At the end of three days after menstruation appears when one's wife has bathed, the husband should make her pound rice (which is then boiled and eaten with various other things according as he desires a fair, brown or dark son or a learned son or a learned daughter).....then

towards morning after having according to the rule of the Sthālipāka performed the preparation of the clarified butter, he sacrifices from the Sthālipāka little by little, saying "this is for Agni, svāhā; this is for Anumati, svāhā; this is for the divine savitṛ, swāhā; having sacrificed he takes out the rest of the rice, eats it, and after having eaten he gives some of it to his wife. Then he washes his hands, fills a water jar and sprinkles her thrice with water saying, "Rise O Viśvāvasu, seek another blooming girl, a wife with her husband. Then he approaches her any says: "I am Ama, thou art Sā; thou art sā, I am Ama; I am the Sāman, thou art the ṚK; I am the sky, thou art the earth, come, let us try together so that a male child may be begotten. "To sum up the next three passages (21-23), it may be stated that the husband has intercourse with his wife, repeating the two ṛks, quoted above, differing only in the use of "Pṛthuṣṭake" instead of 'Sarasvati'. As the earth has fire within it, as heaven has Indra inside it, as the wind is inside the quarters, so the husband plants an embryo in his wife, mentioning her name. The ṛk[12] is a prayer to Sinīvalī for giving 'progeny' (prajāṃ dehi didiḍhi naḥ). The apithet 'pṛthuṣṭake' of this goddess is explained as 'pṛthujaghane' by the earlier author of Nirukta[13] and Sāyaṇa. The expression 'garbhaṃ dadhātu' suggests the prevalence of the rite of 'garbhādhāna' even in the earliest days of the ṚV and AV. The Āśva. Gṛ.S.[14] (upaniṣadi garbha-lambhanaṃ puṃsavanam-anavalobhanaṃ cha) states distinctly that the rite of garbhādhāna has been enjoined in the Upaniṣad, obviously in the Bṛ.Upa., as noted above.

Chaturthīkaraṇam

As noted in Śāṅkhāyaṇa Gṛ. S.[15], it is as follows :— "Three nights after marriage having elapsed, on the fourth the husband makes into fire eight offerings of cooked food to Agni, Vāyu, Sūrya, Aryaman, Varuṇa, Puṣan (same mantra), Prājāpati, (mantra, ṛc. x.121.10) and to (Agni) Sviṣṭakṛt. Then he pounds the root of "adhyaṇḍa" plant and sprinkles it into the wife's nostril with two verses (Rcs., X.85.21-22) with 'svāhā' at the end of each. He should then touch her, when about to cohabit, with the words, "the mouth of the Gandharva Viśvāvasu art thou". Then he should murmur

into the breath I put the sperm, Oh! so and so (the name of the wife) or he repeats the verse, 'as the earth has fire inside etc' (as in Bṛ. Up.[16]) or several other verses in this strain 'may a male embryo enter thy womb as arrow into the quiver; 'may a male be born here, a son after ten months." (Ā te yonim garbham-etu pumān vāṇa iveṣudhim/ ā vīro'tra jāyatām putra-s-te daśamāsyaḥ).[17] The same procedure is enjoined in Pāra-Gṛ[18] and in Gobhila Gṛ.S.[19] The Hira. Gṛ.S[20] gives us a detailed description of this rite. The Gṛhya-sūtrakāra-s treat this rite as a part of marriage-rite. If so, the wife must have had puberty at the time of marriage but when in later period the marriage took place at earlier age, this rite was discontinued.

Puṃsavana

In the Sāmaveda-Mantra-Brāhmaṇa[21] we have prayer for sons. This rite is called 'prājāpatya' (Kṛṇomi te prājāpatyam) in AV.[22] It deserves mention that inserting the juice of the banyan tree, as noted in the Gṛ. Sūtra, helped the pregnant woman in preventing abortion and securing a son as corroborated by Suśruta[23] who speaks of the banyan tree as having the properties of removing all troubles during pregnancy. The AV[24] (Śamīm-aśvat-tha āruḍha-s-tatra puṃsavanaṃ kṛtam) mentions this term in the sense of "giving birth to a male child", showing evidently the importance of a son in the family of the Vedic Aryans. This ritual is described in detail in Āśva. Gṛ.S.[25] showing it to be performed in the third month of pregnancy when the wife is made to taste in the curds of a cow two beans and one grain barley for each handful of curds. The Āpas. Gr. S.[26] (nyagrodhasyayā prāchyudīchī vā śākhā tataḥ savṛṣaṇam śūṅgam-āhṛtya) enjoins the use of a shoot of the branch of a nyagrodha tree having fruits and the insertion by the husband in her right nostril the pounded substance (of the shoot and fruits) with his thumb with the mantra 'puṃsavanam-asi' (the mantra varying in different sutras). Thus this rite is important from religious and medical point of view. The AV.[27] (Yāsāṃ dyauḥ pitā pṛthvī mātā......tā-s-tvā putravidyāya daiviḥ prāvantvoṣadhayaḥ) meaning "the plants of which heaven has been the father, earth the mother ocean the root, let those herbs of the gods

favour thee, in order to acquisition of a son," shows the application of some medicinal herb to the pregnant woman.

Anavalobhana

The Āśv. Gṛ S.[28] mentions it separately from puṃsavana as referred to in the Upaniṣad and it describes this rite where we find the inserting of dūrvā-juice in the woman's nostril, touching her heart and prayers to deities for the safety of the foetus as its principal features. The Śaunaka-kārikā[29] explains this rite as the ceremony by which the foetus remains undisturbed. (Na Kṣhubhen-na-sraved-yena tat-karmānavalobhanam). The Śāṅkh. Gṛ.S.[30] refers to the same rite as 'garbha-rakṣaṇa' to be done in the 4th month offering oblations with six verses of the Ṛv.[31] The Kārikā of Kumārila on Āśva. Gṛ. S.[32] states that this rite is to be repeated in each period of conception, though others prescribe its performance only once.

Sīmantonnayana :

This is nowhere mentioned in the Vedic literature except in the Gṛhyasūtras.[33] Āśvalāyana prescribes this rite to be performed in the 4th month of pregnancy (chaturthe garbhamāse sīmantonnayanam) in the fortnight of the waxing moon when the moon may be in conjunction with a star that is male. Then the husband establishes fire and having spread to its west a bull's hide (ānaḍuhaṃ charm āstīrya), offers eight oblations (of ājya or clarified butter), while his wife sits on it (hide) and takes hold of his hand with two verses—"dhātā dadātu dāśuṣe"[34], two more "rākā ham"[35] and three verses "nejameṣa"[36] and with the verse "Prajāpate na tvadetānyanya".[37] He then parts her hair thrice upwards (sīmantaṃ vyūhati) with a bunch of an even number of green fruits with a porcupine quill that has three white spots and with three bunches of Kuśa grass with the words—bhūḥ, bhuvaḥ, svaḥ, Oṃ three or four times. He asks two luteplayers to sing praise of soma (Somaṃ rājānaṃ saṃgāyatām). Let them do as directed by aged brāhmaṇa women whose husbands and children are living. A bull is the foe. All Gṛhyasutras recommend the use of a bunch of green fruits, a porcupine quill with three white spots and a bunch of Kuśa grass.

Soṣyanti Karma :

The Rv[38] may be quoted here :

"Yathā vātaḥ puṣkariṇīm samiṅgayati sarvataḥ/
evā te garbha ejatu niraitu daśamāsyaḥ//—V. 7
Yathā vāto yathā vanam yathā samudra ejati/
evā tvaṃ daśamāsyaḥ sahavehi jarāyuṇā//—V. 8
daśa-māsāñccha-śayānaḥ kumāro adhi mātari/
niraitu jīvo akṣato jīvo jīvantyā adhi//—V. 9.

Trans : Just as the wind moves a lake on all sides, so may the foetus move and come out, being (now) in the tenth month. Just as the wind, the forest and the sea are in movement, so may thou (foetus) that art (now) in the tenth month come out together with the after-birth, may be male child having been sleeping ten months inside his mother, come out a living being, unharmed, from his mother, herself being alive." Sāyaṇa finds in these ṛcs the secret of the delivery of the child (garbhasrāviṇyupaniṣad). The Rcs indicate the prevalence of this rite in the Vedic age. The Bṛ.had. Upa.[39] (soṣyantīm-adbhi-r-abhyukṣati yathā vāyuḥ puṣkariṇīṃ samiṅgayati sarvataḥ/ Evā te garbha ejatu sahāvaitu jarāyuṇā/ Indrāsyām vrajaḥ kṛtaḥ sārgalaḥ sa-pariśrayaḥ/ tam-Indra nirjahi garbheṇa sāvaram saheti/") also refers to this rite when it mentions that, "he (the husband) sprinkles with water the woman who is about to be delivered with the Rc[40] (of course, with the difference in the last pāda), and it describes the womb of the woman as that "this is the pan of Indra with a bolt and with a chamber for rest, O Indra! come out with the foetus and after-birth." The AV[41] (naiva māṃse na pivasi naiva majjas-vāpatam/ avaitu pṛśni śevalam sune jarāyuttave avajarāyu padyatām//) meaning "not as it were, stuck in the flesh, not in the fat, not as it were in the narrows, let the spotted slimy(?) after-birth come down, for the dog to eat. "Let the after-birth descend" also refers to this rite. Pāraskara Gṛ. Sūtra also speaks of the use of these Rcs (RV V. 78.7 and AN, 1.11.4) while sprinkling over the women to be delivered. These verses are also found in Āpastambamantra-pāṭha.[42]

Jātakarma :

The Tait.S.[43] (Vaiśvānaraṃ dvādaśakapālaṃ nirvapet putre jāte yad-aṣṭakapālo bhavati gāyatryaivainam brahmavarchasena. . . .paśumān bhavati) refers to this rite: "when a son is born, he should offer on twelve potsherds to Vaiśvānara; in that there is (an offering) on eight potsherds he purifies him with the Gāyatri with splendour; in that there is (an offering) on nine potsherds, he bestows brilliance upon him with the Trivṛt (stoma); in that there is (an offering) on the potsherds, he bestows proper food upon him with the viroj; in that there is (an offering) an eleven potsherds, he bestows power upon him with the Triṣṭubh; in that there is power upon him with the (an offering) on twelve potsherds, he bestows cattle upon him with the Jagatī; he upon whose birth he offers this sacrifice, becomes pure, brilliant, an eater of food, powerful, possessed of cattle."[44] Thus we find the performance of the 'Vaiśvānara-isti' on this occasion.

The ŚB[45] prescribes that before the naval string is cut, "regarding a newborn son let him say to five brāhmaṇas" to "breathe over him." But if he should be unable to obtain them, he may even himself breathe over him while walking round him." The Bṛh.Upa.[46] (Tasmāt kumāraṃ jātaṃ ghṛtaṃ vaivāgre pratilehayanti stanam vānudhapayantyatha vatṣam jātamāra-tṛṇāda iti) states that "when a boy is born they first make him lick clarified butter and they make him take the breast (of the mother) after that." Elsewhere[47] it describes this rite more distinctly: "When a son is born, having kindled the fire, having placed the son on one's lap, having poured curds mixed with ghee in a bell-metal vessel he offers oblations of the curds mixed with ghee with the mantras" may I maintain a thousand prospering in my house; may there be no break with regard to progeny and cattle; svāhā. I offer the prāṇa-s in me with my mind to you. Whatever I have done in excess with mind, or whatever I have done deficient in this (rite) may the wise Sviṣṭakṛt fire make that well-done and well-offered for us, svāhā. Then having lowered his mouth upto the right ear of the son, he should recite thrice the word 'vāk' (Speech), then having poured together curd, honey and ghee he makes (the son) eat it by means of a golden spoon, not having entered into the mouth with the mantras "I place in

thee bhūḥ, I place in thee bhuvaḥ and I place in thee svaḥ and I place in thee bhūh, bhuvaḥ and svaḥ and I place in thee all." In the next passages we find how the name of the son (thou art the Veda) is given, and how the son is given the breast of his mother with the ṛc[48] and how the mother is addressed with mantras. Besides these six functions of the rite, as noted above, in the Bṛh. Upa.[49], we learn from the ŚB that five brāhmaṇas are asked, if available, to breathe on the child or the father himself would do so.

The Āśva. Gṛ.S.[50] describes this rite as follows : "Kumāraṃ jātaṃ purā'nyai-r-ālabhāt sarpi-madhunī hiraṇya-nikāṣam hiraṇyena prāśayet. 'Pra te dadāmi madhuno ghṛtasya vedaṃ savitrā prasūtaṃ maghonām. Āyuṣman gupto devatābhiḥ śataṃ jīva śadado loke asminniti'. Karṇayo-r-upa nidhāya medhājananaṃ japati. 'Medhām te devaḥ Savitā Medhāṃ devī Sarasvatī. Madhām te Aśvinau devāvādhattām puṣkarasrajāviti. Aṃsāvabhimṛśati, 'Aśmā bhava paraśu-r-bhava hiraṇyamastṛtaṃ bhava. Vedo vai putranāmāsi sa jīva śaradaḥ śatamiti. Indra śreṣṭhāni draviṇanidhehyasme prayandhi maghavan-ṛjīṣinniti' cha. Nāmachasmai, dadyuhṇ"—trans. (The father) should give to the son born before he is touched by any one else, to eat honey and ghee in which gold has been rubbed by means of gold (a golden spoon) with the verse "I give thee the Veda of honey and ghee, the Veda produced by the god Savitṛ, the bountiful ; may you have long life and may you live a hundred years here, being protected by gods ; bringing his mouth near the ears (of the child) the father mutters the 'medhā' 'janana' mantra—"May god Savitṛ give you intelligence, may the goddess Sarasvatī give you intelligence ; and may the twin gods Aśvins wearing garland of lotuses give you intelligence." He teaches the shoulder of the child with the verse "be a stone, be an axe, be imperishable gold, thou are indeed the Veda called son, so live a hundred autumns and with the verse—"Oh Indra, bestow the best wealth."[51] and "Oh Maghavan, (bountiful Indra) O partaker of ṛjisa (soma) bestow on us".[52] And they would give him a name." From the above survey we know that some functions like homa, breast-giving, address to mother, and breathing over the child, as noted in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and Bṛhad Upa. became out of use

in the later period of the Gṛhya-sūtras, specially of Āsvalāyana and Śāṅkhāyana Gṛ.S.[53] which, of course, mention breathing program; and that both these Gṛhyasūtras enjoin naming on the day of the birth of the child.

Nāmakaraṇam :

We have seen above how the Bṛ.Upa., Āśva. Gṛ. S. and Śāṅ. Gṛ.S. (also Gobhila and Khādira Gṛ.S.) prescribe the naming of the child on the very date of birth. Āśvalāyana[54] enjoins two names one popular, of two or four letters and the other, secret (abhivādanīyaṃ cha) which his parents alone know till his upanayana (Opanayanāt). Śāṅkhyāyana says that the popular name is to be given on the tenth day. Gobhila[55] and Khādira insist that the secret name is to be given in the "Saṣyantī-karma. The ŚB[56] (tasmāt putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt pāpmānam-evāsya tadapahantyapi dvitīyamapi tṛtīyam) refers to this practice; "when a son is born, the father should give him a name, thus he drives away the evil from the child and he should give also a second and third name. Bodhāyana[57] and Gobhila differ on the point of the day for naming. We learn of even the fourth name, connected with a sacrifice from the Ṛgveda[59] (turīyam nāma yajñīyam) and elsewhere the ṛc[60] (chatvāri te asuryāni nāmadābhyāni mahiṣaya santi) speaks of four names of Indra, explained by Sāyaṇa as the name derived from the nakṣatra on which the child is born, a secret name (guhyam in ṚV X.55.1.2), a publicly known name and the sacrificial one like somayājī. The ṛc[61] (Ṛtasya jivha....nāma tṛtīyamadhi ro chane divaḥ) mentions the third name which is unknown to the parents and which is in the bright part of heaven. The ŚB, noted above, speaks of second or third name, given evidently for the sake of prosperity, as reflected in Tait.S.[62] (tasmāt dvināmā brāhmano' ṛdhukaḥ) meaning "therefore a brāhmaṇa who has two names prospers". The ŚB[63] (Arjuno ha vai nāmendra....Phālguṇya iti) states that "Arjuna is the secret name of Indra, and the constellation of Phalguṇis being prescribed over by Indra, are really Ārjunyaḥ but are called Phālguṇyaḥ in an indirect way". The VS[64] (ghṛtasya nāma guhyaṃ yad-asti jihvā devānām-a mṛtasya nābhiḥ) refers to the secret name of ghṛta (ghee). The TS[65] (Mama nāma prathhamaṃ jātavedaḥ pitā mātā tha dedhatu-r-yad-agre)

also mentions such name—"The name that first, O all-knower, my father and my mother bestowed upon me aforetime. In the ṚV[66] we have Trasadasyu as an ordinary name, Paurukutsa derived from his father Purukutsa and in the ṚV[67] Medhyātithi Kāṇva, a gotra name. Ājigarta (son of Ajigarta) in AB,[68] ascribed to Śunaḥśepa, Vaidhasa, son of Vedhas, ascribed to Hariśchandra,[69] Śaunaka (a gotraname) in ŚB,[70] Gautama (a gotraname), ascribed to Śvetaketu Āruṇeya in Ch. Up.[71] and Nachiketas, addressed as Gautama, a gotra name in Kaṭha Upa.[72] may be mentioned as various types of names in Vedic literature from the start to the end. Some other names like Kasū chaidya[73] and Ajātaśatru Kāśya,[74] Bhīma Vaidartha[75] and Janaka Vaideha[76] may be regarded as names, both personal and geographical. We come across matronumic names like Dīrghatamā Māmateya,[77] Kakṣivat Auśija[78] and Mahīdāsa Aitareyafl[79] The Āśva. Ś.S.[80] (Ye matṛtaḥ pitṛta-ś-cha daśapurusaṃ samanuṣṭhitā vidyatapobhyām puṇyai-ś-cha-karmabhi-r-yeṣāmubhyato vā brāhmaṇyaṃ ninayeyuḥ pitṛta-ś-chaike") prescribes that both the parents of the brāhmaṇa at the time of 'Chamasabhakṣaṇa' in Daśapeya should be for ten generations perfect in learning, penance and meritorious works and who must have been born of brāhmaṇa castes on both sides. This shows importance of matriarchy as well. Sudās Paijavana,[81] Devāpi Arṣṭiṣeṇa,[82] Bhṛgu Vāruṇi[83] show how one was known by personal name and also by the name indicating his father's name. We have already noticed some rules about the formation of one's name in Gṛhyasūtras but it is interesting to note that the Vedic literature refers rarely to some names which are ascribed to gods like Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Pūśan and others. Some names may be cited as exceptional cases like Bhṛgu, in Tai. Up.[86] who learnt from his father Varuṇa and Sauryāyaṇi Gārgya[87] who learnt from his father Surya, and Indrota Indradyumna may be taken as derived from Indra, the god. So the system of naming a human being after the very name of a particular deity which is still in practice India might have been introduced at least from the period of the Upaniṣads. It may be noted here that the nakṣatra name was of importance in the performance of Vedic sacrifices, as evidenced by the Vadāṅga-jyotisa of the ṚV (verses 25-28) which speaks of 28 nakṣatras and their presiding deities and which insists that

the sacrificer is to bear the name derived from the name of the presiding deity of his nakṣatra. The commentary on Khādira Gr̥.S.[88] (Vaidika-Karmārtham-etat. Nāmāparijñāne abhichārādyasiddhiḥ phalam) states that such nakṣatra-names were used for the prevention of magical rites (abhichārakarma) against the person. The ŚB[89] refers to such names Āṣāḍhi Sauśromateya, i.e., son of Aṣāḍha anu Suśromatā. Here Aṣāḍha seems to have been derived from the nakṣatra 'aṣāḍha'.

Annaprāśanam :

The rite of first feeding the child with solid food is nowhere referred to in the Vedas. But the old Persian custom of feeding the child ceremoniously indicates its prevalence in the Indo-Iranian period when both the Indians and Old Persian or Iranians lived together. The VS[90] (Vājono adya....vājapati-r-jayeyam) sings praises of food. Food is highly praised and Agni, lord of food is prayed for food (Annapate' annasya no dihyanamīvasya śuṣmiṇaḥ/ pradātāram tāriṣa ūrjaṃ no dhehi dvipade chatuspade/|/) in TS[91] and also in Tait. Upa.[92] But these references mean praises of food in general and so need not be interpreted as food used for the first feeding of the child. However, this ritual seems to have been in practice in the sūtra period. The Āśva. Gr̥.S.[93] (Ṣaṣṭhemāsyannaprāśanaṃ ājam-annadyakāmaḥ/ Taittiram brahma-varchasa-kāmaḥ/ ghr̥taudanaṃ tejaskāmaḥ dadhi-madhu-ghr̥ta-miśram-annam prāśayet. Annapate' annasya....chatuṣpada iti) prescribes that this rite is to be performed in the sixth month after birth of the child (Janma-prabhr̥ti), food with meat of a goat for desiring food etc, with meat of tittira bird for the gaining of brahma-lustre and with curd, honey and ghee in case of desirelessness, is to be offered to the child with the mantra "annapate-etc."[94] as noted above. The Āpas. Gr̥.S.[95] enjoins feeding of brāhmaṇas securing benedictions from them upon the child and tasting of food, curds, honey, ghee and boiled rice, put together. The Gr̥hya-sūtras, saturated with the Vedic idea, recommend the use of meal as well. Suśruta,[96] however, insists on food which must be light and suitable to the child. (laghu-hitaṃ cha).

Chūḍākaraṇa :

(The first cutting of the hair on the child's head) :— Chūḍā means tuft of hair, kept on the head for the first time after birth, while the other portion of the head is cut or shaved. We have the mantra : "Yatravāṇāḥ saṃpatanti kumārā, viśikhā iva/tatrā no Brahmaṇaspati-r-aditiḥ śarma yacchatu viśvāhā śamaṃ yacchatu" in the RV[97] and in TS[98], meaning that "where arrows fall together like boys having many tufts of hair". The term 'Viśikhā' may be taken in two senses, first as having all tufts of hair cleanly shaved, as Sāyaṇa explains it as "muṇḍitā" and also in the sense of "having many tufts of hair", as Bharadwāja Gṛ.S.[99] explains this word as "Vahuśikhā ivati".

The hymn of the AV[100] is used by Kauśika sūtra in the Godāna ceremony, verse 1 being addressed to the vessel of water used, verse 2 accompanying the wetting of the youth and verse 3, the parting and cutting of the hair. It may be quoted here :—

Āyamagant Savitā Kṣureṇo'ṣṇena Vāya udakenehi/
Ādityā Rudrā Vasava Undantu sachetasaḥ-
Somasya rājño vapate prachetasaḥ//1
Aditi śmasru vapatvāpa udantu varchasā/
Chikitsatu Prajāpati-r-dīrghāyutvāya chakṣaṣe//2
Yenā Vapat Savitā Kṣureṇa Somasya rājño Varuṇasya vidvān/
tena Brāhmaṇo vapate damasya gomān-aśvavān-ayam-astu-
-prajāvān//3.

trans : Savitar here hath come with razor, come, O Vayu, with hot water; let the Ādityas, the Rudras, the Vasus we (him) in accordance, do ye, forethoughtful, shave the head of king Soma.

2. Let Aditi shave the head, let the waters wet it with splendour, let Prajāpati nurse it, in order to length of life, to sight.

3. With white razor the knowing Savitar shaved the head of king Soma, of Varuṇa, therewith, ya priests, shave (it) now of this man; be he rich in kine, in horses, in progeny.

The Yajurveda[101] (Śivonāmāsi svadhiti-s-te pitā nāma-s-te-mā mā hiṃsiḥ) also shows how the shaving razor is praised and requested to be harmless ("do not injure the child"). The

father himself is also shown in the next verse to have cut the hair of his son for abundance of food, progeny, wealth, strength and longevity. The RV[102] ("Śvityañcho mā dakṣiṇata-s-kapardā dhiyam jinvāso abhi hi pramanduḥ") refers to the practice of the Vasiṣṭha-s that they kept a tuft of hair on the right side of their head. Sāyaṇa explains—"Dakṣiṇa śiraso bhāge Kapardā-s-chūḍayeṣāṃ te dakṣiṇataskapardāḥ. Chūḍākarmaṇi dakṣinato Vasiṣṭhanāmiti smaxyate. The Kāṭhaka Gṛ.S.[103] also prescribes; "dakṣiṇataḥ kapujā Vasiṣṭhānām. Ubhayato' tri-Vāśyapānāṃ muṇḍā Bhṛgavaḥ. Pañchchūḍā āṅgirasaḥ. Vājim-eke, maṅgalārtham śikhino'nye"—that is, the Vasiṣṭhas keep a lock of hair on the right side, the persons belonging to Atri and Kāśyapa gotras keep on both sides, the Bhṛgus shave the entire head, the Aṅgirasas keep five locks or only a line of hair; and others keep a śikhā for something good. Āśvalāyana Gṛ.S.[104] (Tṛtīye varṣe chaulam yathākuladharmaṃ va) prescribes that this rite is to be performed either in the third year after the birth of the child or according to the practice of the family tradition and in 1.18 it recommends this rite also for a daughter without any Vedic mantras (āvṛtaiva kumāryain). Thus from the above survey, we may conclude that the Vedic mantras, cited above, were composed for the purpose of cutting the hair only and hence this rite was in practice even from the Ṛgvedic period, though, of course, it assumed a concrete and systematised shape in the Sūtra-period, as evidenced by the rules of procedure for this rite, prescribed in details in the Gṛhyasūtras. It is interesting to point out the purpose of this rite of tonsure. The Āśva. Gṛ. S.[105] (tenate āyuṣe vapāmi suślokāya svastyaye) mentions long life as its primary object and we find its corroboration in Charaka-saṁhitā (pauṣṭikaṃ vṛṣyam-āyuṣyam etc.) and also in 'Suśruta[106] which mentions that keeping a tuft of hair protects the vital part of the head known technically as 'adhipati' on the joint of a śirā and sandhi.

Upanayana :

Upanayana means 'taking near the Āchārya' as is clear from Hiran. Gṛ.[107] (Athainamabhivyāhārayati. Brahmacharyamā-Iāmupa mā nayasva brahmachārī bhavāni devena savitrā prasūtaḥ) which states that the teacher makes the student utter, "I have come to brahmacharya, lead me near, let me be

a student, impelled by the god Savitṛ." The corresponding Parsi rite called Naujat (the new birth), laid down in the ancient Zoroastrian Scriptures[108] indicates the hoary antiquity of this ceremony, traceable to the period when the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians lived together.

Let us trace its history in the Vedic period. The ṚV[109] mentions the term 'brahmachārī', Bṛhaspati in noted here as moving like a brahmachārī, pervading all sacrifices. The AV[110] (Āchāryo upanayamāno brahmachāriṇaṃ Kṛnute garbham-antaḥ/ taṃ rātri-s-tisraḥ udare vibharti taṃ jātaṃ draṣṭum-abhisaṃyanti devāḥ//) means that "the teacher, taking him in charge, makes the Vedic student an embryo within; he bears him in his belly three nights; the gods gather into him to see him when born." The ṚV[111] (yuvā suvāsāḥ parivīta āgāt sa u śreyān bhavati jāyamānaḥ/ taṃ dhīrāsaḥ kavaya unnayanti svādhyo manisā devayanta//) shows that how the sacrifical post is praised as a young person, well-dressed and encircled, (the boy by his mekhatā and the yūpa by its raśanā), who, when born, becomes elevated and whom wise sages, devoted to gods, raise. Here the word "un-nayanti" suggests the sense of the term "upanayana' and this ṛc refers to some features of the Upanayana sacrament and it is interesting to note that this verse is used in sacrament by the leading Gṛhyasūtras.[112] The TS[113] speaks of three debts, brahmachārin and brahmacharya and states that one becomes free from debts, who has a son, who sacrifices and who is a brahmachārin. The AV[114] speaks highly of a brahmachārin and brahmacharya; and it mentions the most important features of a brahmachārin and his duties, as prescribed in Upanayana like use of deer-skin, mekhalā, offering of samidh, begging and life of discipline and hard work. The verse of this hymn refers to long beard of the brahmachārin (dīkṣito dīrghaśmaśruḥ) and thus indicates that in the Vedic period a student was initiated into Vedic study when he attained maturity enough to have long beard.

The Tait. Bra.[115] shows through the story of Bharadvaj that a life of brahmachārin continued even for three parts of his life and even in that long vistas of time it was possible for him to master only a small fraction of the vast Vedic

literature. The story of Nābhānediṣṭha[116] shows how he had been away from his father and living with his teacher. The ŚB[117] speaks elaborately of the life of a student staying with his teacher. From these Brāmaṇas it is clear that Upanayana had become an important ceremony and its procedure was about to be fixed, of course, not so complex as in the later period of the Gṛhyasūtras. By the time of the Upaniṣads the āśramaic theory was established in the Brahmanical society and 'brahmacharya' became a respected institution. The would-be student appreached the teacher with samidh in his hand and asked his permission to live and read with him. One was accepted as a pupil only when one could please the teacher.[118] Elsewhere the Chānd. Up.[119] refers to Satyakāma Jābāla who pleased his teacher Gautama Hāridrumata by telling the truth about his gotra and was accepted as his pupil. We know also from the same Upaniṣad[120] that he had to take care of the cows of his guru and he helped his guru by begging alms also. The Bṛh.Upa.[121] tells us that formerly the students approached the teacher only in words, (vāchā ha snaiva pūrvam-upayanti), meaning thereby the absence of any ritual. Of course, the Bṛh.Upa.[122] (anuśiṣto'nvasi pitretyomiti hovācha) indicates that the father had himself taught his son in earlier days; but in course of time the son was sent to the perceptor, as noted above. The Chān.Upa.[123] speaks of Uddālaka Āruṇi, a profound scholar in Brahmavidyā sending his son to a teacher to learn the Vedas. Elsewhere[124] we learn of a student lying with his guru all through his life, known as a 'naiṣṭhika Brahmachārin.'

The age of upanayana was not fixed in the age of the Upaniṣads. The Chāndogya Upaniṣad[125] mentions Śvetaketu as of twelve (dvādaśa-varṣa upetyao) when he was initiated and as living with his guru upto 24th year (chaturviṃśati-varsaḥ sarvān vedān adhītya). This saṃskāra came to its complete stage by the time of the Gṛhyasūtras, as evidenced by the Āśvalāyana Gṛ.S.[126] which reports that a brahmin boy should be initiated in the 8th year from the birth or from conception, a Kṣattriya in the 11th year and a Vaiśya in the 12th year and that these varṇas should be initiated within double the period, prescribed above, respectively. Āpas.Gṛ.S.[127] Bodhā.Gṛ.S.[128] and Gobhila Gṛ.S.[129] enjoin the above prescribed

time to be calculated from conception. Some scholar thinks that the earlier age of children of different varṇas was prescribed for the possibility of their superior intellect, but it is better to suggest the relative superiority of the castes, already accepted in the later Vedic period as the plausible reason for such difference. Gautama D. S.[130] enjoins that the brahmin boy may also be initiated at earlier or later age in the 5th or 9th year, according to the result desired. The Brahmin father was sometimes the teacher of his son, as noted before and so there was no difficulty in following the principle of earlier age for initiation. Dr. R. B. Pandey's suggestion for explaining the difference in age for initiation of Kṣattriya and Vaiśya boys is commendable, because their professions required technical knowledge in subjects like military art, agriculture and commerce in cases of Kṣattriya and Vaiśya students respectively, over and above the general knowledge in Vedic lore. Hence caste differentiation was a necessity of the Vedic society and not superiority-complex of the Brāhmaṇas.

Next arises the question whether upanayana was compulsory in the Vedic age. The AV[131], already noted above, shows that upanayana was regarded as a second birth and hence we may think that all the twice-born were initiated. But the idea of the second birth was associated not only with Upanayana but also with any initiation to be performed before a sacrifice, as reported in ŚB[132] (Ajāto vai tāvat puruṣo yāvan-nayajate). Hence it is better to believe that this rite of upanayana was voluntary in the Vedic period, only it was made compulsory in the period of Gṛhya- and Dharmasūtras and later on. The Chānd. Up.[133] (asmāt-kulīno'nanuchya brahmabandhu-r-iva bhavatīti) mentions that Aruṇi told his son Svetaketu that members of his family did not claim brahmanhood simply by birth and hence asked him to pass through the life of a student (Vasa brahmacharyam). This shows that upanayana was meant for at least the priestly brahmin families. The Vedic text, quoted in Parāśaramādhavīya[134] (yasya pitā pitāmaho vā na somaṃ pīvet sa vrātyaḥ) shows that Vrātya is he whose father or grand-father does not drink soma meaning thereby that he does not perform soma sacrifice. So the later concept of Vrātya of one who

was not initiated into Vedic study (Upanita) had not yet developed in the Vedic period. The AV[135] also refers to Vrātya in the sense of the Highest Brahman.

In the Vedic period upanayana was a simple affair. In the brahmin families the father acted as a guru, as noted above, and as reflected in the Bṛh.Upa.[136] which states that gods, men and asuras, three children observed brahmacharya with their common father Prajāpati and in Bṛh.Upa.[137] Chānd. Upa.[138] and Muṇḍaka Upa.,[139] upanayana meant only the student's approaching the guru with samidh (fuel) and intention to be his pupil and serve the teacher. It gained complexity even in the period of the AV and Brāhmaṇa-s[140] and particularly in the later period of Gṛhyasūtras.[141] From the Gṛhyasūtras we learn in details of a brahmachārin, his garments, staff, girdle and the Yajñopavīta. The rules of sacred thread were already framed in the Vedic period, as reflected in TS[142] (nivītaṃ manuṣyānāṃ prāchīnāvītaṃ pitṛṇām-upavītaṃ devānām upavyayate deva-lakṣmam-eva tat kurute) which states that nivīta is used in actions for men. Prāchīnāvīta in rites for ancestors and upavīta in rites for gods, thus he makes a distinguishing sign of the gods." These terms are also referred to in Tait.Brā.[143] and explained in Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra.[144] But it is interesting to note that ŚB[145] refers to gods and pitṛ-s as yajñopavītins and prāchīnāvītins respectively but to men, approaching Prajāpati, as covered with a garment only; and hence we may say that the system of using sacred thread by one approaching gods was not yet established. However, in TB[146] (Etāvatī ha Gautamaḥ yajñopavītaṃ kṛtvā a dho nipapāta namo nama iti) we find the use of sacred thread by Gautama before Vāk. The Tait. Āra.[147] refers to Yajñopavīta, prāchīnāvīta and nivīta but it means by upavīta only a piece of deer skin or cloth. (ajinaṃ vaso va) and not any cord of threads. The Tantravārtika on Jaimini[148] establishes the fact that the TS[149] noted above means only a piece of cloth and not a cord of threads. The Āpas,D.S.[150] enjoins the use of the sacred thread as an alternative of an upper garment and thus indicates that the upper garments was originally used as the Upavīta. (Nityam-uttaraṃ vāsaḥ kāryam. Api vā sūtramevopavītārtham). Elsewhere[151] (Yajñopavīti dvi-vastraḥ adho-nivīta-s-tveka-

vastraḥ) it prescribes that when a student wears two garments he should wear the upper one in the style of a sacred thread but in the case of one garment he should wear it round the lower part of the body. The Gobhila Gṛ S.[152] states that the student takes as yajñopavīta a sacred thread or a garment or a rope of kusa grass ; and it indicates the use of a garment as an alternative measure. Elsewhere[153] it shows how even a girl student wore the sacred thread as the symbol of the rite of upanayana.

From the ŚB[154] we know that in Ancient times the pupil was taught the Gāyatrī verse[155] by the teacher a year of 6 months or 24, 12 or 3 days after upanayana. Athāsau sāvitrīm-anvāha. Taṃ ha smaitaṃ purā saṃ-vatsare' atha dvādaśāhe....atha tryahe), but in the days of the ŚB a brahmin student was imparted this mantra immediately. (Sadyo ha vā tvāva brāhmaṇāyañuvrūyāt). This might have been due to the fact that in ancient times the student at 7 or 8 could not pronounce the sacred verse correctly ; but by the time of the ŚB when brahmanical culture reached the height of its position the brahmin student was in a more enlightened condition to pronounce it properly. And in the period of Gṛhya-sūtras the same rule of postponement stands still but the practice of imparting the Gāyatrī on the very day of upanayana seems to have been introduced as well, as evidenced by Bodhāyana Gṛ. S.[156] The Āchārya recited this mantra in the Gāyatrī metre to a brāhmaṇa, in the Triṣṭubh to a rājanya, in the Jagatī to a Vaiśya or in Gāyatrī to all persons, irrespective of castes (of course, excluding the Śūdras). The Gāyatrī verse is addressed to Savitṛ (Sun) for inspiring our intellect. It has become so popular because of an idealistic conception of the world as originating from the all-prevailing intelligence. It is praised as "Veda-mātā" in AV.[157] The Bṛh.Upa.[158] speaks of its derivation from gaya (prāṇa) and trai (=to save) and it is used to have saved the pupil from ignorance. From the ŚB[159] we learn that the teacher instructs the brahmachārin (student) : "drink water, do work (in the teacher's house), put a fuel stick (on the fire), do not sleep (by day)." The repeats the Sāvītrī ṛc, Being a brahmachārin one should not eat honey." (Apo'śāna.... karmakuru....samidhamādhehiti....mā suṣupthā iti....

athāsmai sāvitrīm- anvāha....brahmachārīsan madhvaśnīyāt). The Tait. Āraṇyaka[160] (tāni ha vā etāni rakṣāṃsi gāyatriyā, bhimantritenāmbhasā saṃyanti taduha vā ete brahmavādinaḥ pūrvābhimukhāḥ saṃdhyāyāṃ gāyatriyābhimantrita apa ūrdhavaṃ vikṣipanti ta eta āpo rājibhutvā tāni rakṣāṃsi Mandehāruṇe dvīpe prakṣipanti) refers for the first time to the efficacy of Saṃdhyā-prayer that the students facing east throw up water consecrated by the Gāyatrī and these waters being thunder throw the evil spirits into the country called Mandeha Aruṇa. Thus here we find the offer of water to the Sun and muttering of the Gāyatrī mantra, practised as early as the later Vedic period and in the post-Vedic period, as evidenced by the Āśva. Gṛ.S.[161] and Śāṅkh. Gṛ.S.[162] enjoining the 'japa' of the Gāyatrī mantra. Even today a brahmin is used to worship the sun with the muttering of the Gāyatrī mantra at least ten times every day. The TB[163] refers to 'mārjana' with water, consecrated with three ṛcs[164] "Āpo hi sṭhā mayobhuva etc. and the Bodh. D.S.[165] adds more Vedic mantras for this ceremony. "Āpo hi sarvā devatāḥ" is the teaching of the Tait. Brāhmaṇa. Elsewhere in Tair. Āra.[166] we find the worship of Āditya as Brahman.

The system of education in ancient India was oral instruction by the Guru to the pupil, as reflected in the RV[167] which states that when one of the frogs follows another in making noise just as a learner repeats the words of the teacher. The story of Śvetaketu Āruṇeya shows that the father might have taught his son, as noted before. But the Chānd.Upa.[168] shows that Śvetaketu was sent to a teacher for 12 years. Satyakāma Jābāla[169] says to his guru : "Knowledge learnt from a teacher reaches the highest excellence." (Āchāryādhaiva vidyā viditā sādhiṣṭhaṃ prāpayatīti). The Guru is as good as God, according to Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad :[170]—"Yasya deve parā bhakti-r-yathā deve tathā gurau/ tasyaite kathitāḥ hyarthāḥ prakāśante mahātmanah//." The same idea is preached in Āpas.D.S.[171] (devam-ivāchāryam-upāsīta). The RK-prātiśākhya[172] depicts the method of teaching the Veda which was followed in the later days, as revealed in Śaṅkh.Gṛ.S.[173] The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa[174] states : "Sarve vedā mukhato gṛhītāḥ", i.e., oral instruction from the teacher. The study of the Veda is enjoined frequently in ŚB[175] (Svādhyāyo'dhyetavyāḥ). Āpas.

D.S.[176] quotes a Brāhmaṇa text 'tapaḥ svādhyāyaḥ'—i.e., Vedic study is itself a penance, a 'brahma-Yajña.'

Teachers lived in one place generally but we hear of wandering teachers, as in Kauṣītaki[177] and Bṛh.Upa.[178] where Bālāki Gārgya is depicted as moving on in the different countries of Uśinara, Matsya, Kuru-Pañchāla etc. Students also generally resorted to one Guru but students moving from one teacher to another are also heard of in Tait.Upaniṣad.[179] It was the sacred duty of a teacher to teach, when Satyakāma Jābāla did not teach the most sincere student Upakosala, his wife argued with him that the sacred fires might censure him. The Praśna Upa.[180] also states that if any teacher does not offer his help, his knowledge dries up completely. (Samūlo Vāeṣa pariśuṣyati). Similar ideas are also expressed in the Āpas.D.S.[181]. However, the Nirukta[182] (Asūyakāyānṛjave' yatāya na mā brūyā vīryavatī tathā syām : Yameva vidyāḥ śuchim apramattaṃ medhāvinaṃ brahmacharyopapannam, Ya-s-te na druhyet katamacchanāha tasmai mā brūyā nidhipāya brahman) insists on imparting vidyā to a worthy student alone. Great care was taken in pronouncing the Vedic texts correctly, as evidenced by a story of Tvaṣṭṛ who wrongly uttered the words "Intra-śatru-r-vardhasva."[183]

Marriage :

After the stage of brahmacharya the stage of a householder was known to the Vedic people, though, of course, the āśrama is conspiciously absent in the 'earlier Vedic literature'. Agni is noted as "gṛhapati" in the RV[184] (Tavāgne hotraṃ.... brahmā chāsi gṛhapati-ś-cha no dame"). Elsewhere in RV[185] (Gṛbhnāmi te saubhagatvāya hastaṃ mayā patyā jaradaṣṭi-r-yathā saḥ/......tvādu-r-gārhapatyāya devaḥ//") we find that gods gave the girl to the man for the life of a householder and it is interesting to note that this mantra is still today recited in the Hindu marriage ceremony. Thus we are assured of the stage of a householder being known even to the Ṛgvedic people. The earliest reference to four stages of life, of course, in an obscure form is found in AB.[186] (kiṃ nu malaṃ kim-ajinaṃ kimu śmaśrūṇi kiṃ tapaḥ// putraṃ brāhmaṇā icchadhvaṃ sa vai lok vadāvadaḥ//") in which the term 'malam' stands for sexual intercourse and 'tapaḥ' for the last two stages 'ajina' refers to 'brahmacharya' and 'Śm aśrūṇi' to Vanapras-

thas. Hence, 'malam' here indicates the stage of householder. The Chānd.Upa.[187] refers more distinctly to stages of a householder, a vānaprastha and a brahmachārin. The last two stages will be discussed subsequently and let us now concentrate on marriage as the sacrament leading to the second stage of life.

Marriage is the most important of all sacraments and the Gṛhyasūtras are concerned with all the domestic rituals which grew up with the married life of the Aryans centering round their home. The term 'vivāha' we come across in TS[188] (Tad-vivāhayati pravasyaso vivāham-āpnoti) and Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa[189] (Imau vai lokau......saha nāvastviti) which means to say about a marriage between heaven and earth. The ṚV[190] and AV[191] refer to marriage ceremonies. Hence marriage was held as an important institution in the Vedic society even from the Ṛgvedic days. The TB[192] (ayajño vā eṣa yo' patnīkaḥ) shows its importance in clear-cut terms and elsewhere[193] (atho ardho'vā eṣa ātmanaḥ yat-patnīḥ) it speaks of the wife as one's second half.

Some think of the prevalence of promiscuity in primitive human society before the introduction of the institution of marriage, but the great anthropologists deny such possibility. Westermarck[194] opines : "It is not of course impossible that among some peoples intercourse between the sexes may have been almost promiscuous. But there is not a shred of genuine evidence for the motion that promiscuity even formed as general stage in the history of mankind. Howard[195] remarks : "Promiscuity never creates the home, nor enganders those noble sentiments of self-sacrifice and self-denial that have helped to uplift the human race." We have no evidence of promiscuity in entire Vedic literature. The Mbh.[196] refers to women of former days as being uncontrolled and as indulging themselves as they liked. Such state of promiscuity is stated to have been in practice among the people of Uttara Kuru. Śvetaketu, son of Uddālaka is also heard of as having stopped this practice for the first time. Elsewhere in the Śāntiparvan[197] we learn of women of Māhiṣmatī enjoying such laxity through the favour of Agni. But Dr. Kane has rightly pointed out that "these passages can not be relie upon for proving promiscuity of intercourse : "The only inference of temporary marriage in the ṚV[199] is that of Purūravas and Ūrvaśī, which may have

been a recollection of past practices in pre-Ṛgvedic period. rather the ṛc[200] (jāyedastam) attaches more importance to one's wife as the real home. The AB[201] (tasmāt puruṣo jāyāṃ vītva kṛtsnataramivātmānam manyate) states that one regards oneself more complete after getting a wife. The ŚB[202] states that the wife is indeed half of one's self. (ardho ha vā eṣa ātmano yajjāyā). The idea of joint enterprise in sacrifices on the part of both the husband and wife is reflected in the Ṛgvedic period[203] and is repeated all along in the Vedic literature and even in the Āpas.D.S.[204]

The Gṛhya-and Dharmasūtras[205] enjoins that the maiden should be given in marriage to a man, qualified in many respects, of family, learning, health and intelligence. The Āsva. Ś.S.[206] insists on kula or family in the case of both the bride and bridegroom. The Āśva.Gṛ.S.[207] (buddhi-rūpa-śīla-lakṣaṇa-sampannām-arogāmupayaccheta) shows that the girl's intelligence, beauty, character, auspicious, signs and health should be considered in the time of selection of the bride. Āpas. D.S.[208] (yasyām mana-ś-chakṣuṣo-r-nirvandha-s-tasyām-ṛddhir-netara dadriyetetyeke) recommends a girl for marriage who is a source of pleasure of one's mind and eyes and who will bring him prosperity.

The brother-less girl was not desired even from the Ṛgvedic period, as reflected in the ṛc[209] (Abhrāteva puṃsa eti pratīchī gartārugiva sanaye dhanānāṃ/ jāyeva patye uśatī suvāsāuṣā hasreva nirinīte apasḥ//) and in AV[210] (abhrātaraiva jāmaya-s-tiṣṭhantu hatavarchasaḥ). The Nirukta[211] explains these verses that in ancient times when a man had no son but only a daughter, he utilised her as his own son (putrikā) and he got her married on condition that her son would be his son, i.e., he would offer piṇḍa to his maternal grandfather. Thus the line of his own father will be extinct.

The question of caste-restriction in cases of marriage in the Vedic period has been discussed in detail in my earlier treatises, "Political and Legal Institutions in the Vedic Literature" and "Intercaste marriage in India, Ancient and Modern" and hence instead of repeating the same I would like to request the learned readers to kindly consult these books. I have shown there that in the earliest phase the Ṛgvedic society was practically classless and hence no question of

castes. Two varṇas, Ārya and Dāsa represent only the Aryans and the pre-Aryans and only in the latest stratum of the Ṛgved we hear of the rise of four castes in the Puruṣasūkta. The fusion of cultures was sure to have taken place as a result of mutual contact of these two peoples and we have ample evidences of intercaste marriage in Vedic literature, as for example, marriage between the sage Śyāvāśva and the daughter of king Rathavīti Dārbhya in the ṚV[212], another between Chyavana and Sukanyā in ŚB[213] and also another reference in ŚB[214] (Śūdrā yad-āryajārā. . . .tasmāt Vaiśiputraṃ nābhisiñchati) to such union of a king with a vaiśya girl. Some Gṛhyasūtras, Āśvalāyana and Āpasta are silent about the caste of the bride but Āapas.D.S.[215] (varṇāntare cha maithune doṣaḥ) condemns intercaste unions.

Senart places the greatest stress on the Aryan constitution of the family. According to him "the Aryan people practised in affairs of marriage both a rule of exogamy and one of endogamy. A man must marry a woman of equal birth but not one of the same gens. . . . . .In India these rules are reproduced in the form that one must not marry within the gotra but not without the caste.[216] Dr. Pandey has discussed the pros and cons of the various theories which might have led to the rule of exogamy among the early Indo-Aryans and has suggested some additional plausible reasons for such occurance but it is hard to say anything definitely about the actual causes of this custom.

'Gotra' occurs in ṚV several times and it has been taken in the sense of 'a cow-pen or a herd'. But in ṛcs[217] this word 'gotra' has been used in the sense of 'assemblege' (samūha or saṃgha, according to Sāyaṇa) and most probably it has been used in the later period in the sense of 'a group of persons' or in Smṛtis-s "descendents of a common patriarchal ancestor," though of course, this sense is nowhere found in the ṚV. The word 'Viśvagotryah in AV[218] means 'belonging to all families". (Vanaspatyaḥ saṃbhṛta usrīyābhi-r-viśvagotryaḥ). We come across this term in the sense of 'a group of persons' in Kauśika sūtra.[219] The TS 'in Bhārgavo hotā bhavati'[220] and in 'palitau Jamadagniyau'[221] shows that discendants of great sages were known by their names. Bhārgava and Jāmadagniya mean descendants of the sages Bhṛgu and Jāmadagni. Hence we may

think of the concept of 'vaṃśa' traced through the relation of a teacher and pupil and of a father and son even in the period of Tait.Saṃhitā, as formulated later on in Pāṇini. The ṚV[222] speaks of Vasiṣṭhas and Bharadvājas, noted as Aṅgirasas meaning a particular group of families who are supposed to have traced their descent from the great sages like Vasiṣṭha and Bharadvāja. From the Brāhmaṇas also we find the difference in details of worship of members belonging to different gotras, as evidenced by TB[223] which prescribes the consecretion of the sacred Vedic fires with the mantra 'bhṛgūṇām tvā' or 'Ādityānām tvā' by the Bhṛgus or by the Brāhmaṇas of other gotras respectively. The AB[224] speaks of the Aitiśāyana Abhyagni, son of Aitaśa who had quarrelled with his father Aitaśa and as its result he and his progeny were called the worst of the Aurvas. They were also treated as the lowest among the Bhṛgus in the Kauśītaki Brāhmaṇa.[225] The Tāṇḍya Bṛ.[226] (Sagotrāya Brāhmaṇe deyaḥ somapīthasyāvidohāya)—refers to the gift of a Chamasa to a sagotra brāhmaṇa. The Kauṣītaki Bṛ.[227] also refers to the fact that the person, after performing the Viśvajit sacrifice, should stay for a year with a sagotra brāhmaṇa. The Kāpileyas and Bābhravas are noted in AB[228] as descentants of Devarāta Vaiśvāmitra; the adoptive name of Śunaḥśepa. The AB[229] refers to Śunaḥśepa as an Āṅgirasa by birth and thus indicates that gotra relationship was determined by birth by its time.

Satyakāma Jābāla was asked his gotra by his teacher, as noted in Chān.Upa.[230] We come across gotra names of Bharadvāja, Gārgya, Āśvalāyana, Bhārgava and Kātyāyana in Praśna Upa.[231] Besides, we hear of Vaiyāghrapadya aid Gautama in Ch.Up.[232] and of Gautama, Bharadvāja, Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha, and Kaśyapa in Bṛh. Upa.[233] Thus gotra was an established institution in the later Vedic period, but it is mentioned always in connection with sacrifices or education and not with marriage. The Lātyāyana Ś.S.[234] (Vivāhyo janah sagotraḥ samānajana iti dhānamjapyaḥ") states that jane means a person with whom (i.e., with whose daughter) marriage is possible and one who is sagotra is 'Samānajana' and thereby it implies that before the time of this Ś.S., one could

not marry a sagotra girl. Such prohibition of marriage with a sagotra girl is also found in some Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras.[235] Some Gṛhyasūtras like Varāha Gṛhya (9) and Dharmasūtras like Gautama (IV.2) Vasiṣṭha (VIII.1) and Śaṅkha, quoted by Haradatta, while commenting on Āpas. D.S.[236] (dārānāharet sadṛśān-asamānārṣeyan-asambandhān-āsaptama-pañchamāt pitṛ mātṛ-bandhubhyaḥ) forbid one's marriage with a girl of the same pravara. The term 'pravara' means one or more illustrious Ṛṣi-s the remote ancestor of a person and in the words of Parāśara-Mādhava[237] pravara is defined as a group of sages that distinguishes the founder of one gotra from another" (Pravaraḥ gotra-pravartakasya muner Vyāvartako munigaṇa ityarthaḥ).

The concept of 'pravara' may be traced even from the days of the Ṛgveda, though of course, the term ārseya' is used instead of pravara in the RV[238] or sometimes the Ṛsis are mentioned instead of 'ārṣeya' or 'pravara', as in ṚV.[239] The word 'ārṣeya' is used also in AV[240] in the sense of "one or more of sages" and TS[241] in the sense of "one or more illustrious ancestors of the sacrificer" in connection with Agni being invoked. The pravara of Bhṛgu Vatsa is noted as 'Bhārgava-Chyavana-apnavānurva-Jāmadagnyeti,' the remotest ancestor is mentioned first in the taddhita word, then his descendant and so and last the sage nearest the sacrificer. Sometimes 'Vat' is used after the name of each pravara sage, the remotest one is mentioned last, like Jamadagnivat, Ūrvavat, Apnavānavat, Chyavanavat and Bhṛguvat. The AB[242] shows that a kṣattriya sacrificer should mention the name of the pravara of his family priest. This method is also mentioned in Āśva. Ś.S.[243] (uttaraṣaṭka) and in Baudh.D.S.[244] (pravarapraśna) in cases of not only Kṣattriyas but also of Vaiśyas as well. Gotra differs from pravara, because the former is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family is known while the latter is constituted by sages or sometimes the remotest ancestor alone. It is interesting to find that Āśva and Pāras, Gṛ. Sūtras are completely silent about the marriage of persons having the same gotra and pravara. However, as there is no seen (dṛṣṭa) reason for prohibition of marriage with a sagotra or sapravara girl, these rules of prohibition are, according to the cannon of Jaimini,

obligatory and so in such cases the marriage is nullified. Bodhāyana[245] says that if a man has intercourse with a sagotra girl, he should undergo the penance of Chāndrāyaṇa but he must maintain her as if she were a mother or sister and if a child is born, it does not incur sin but it should take the gotra of Kaśyapa. Obviously this rule of Bodhāyana is restricted to inadvertently marrying such a girl. Though 'Sagotra'-marriage is totally forbidden in the sutraperiod, as noted above, the ŚB[246] allows union within the third or forth degree on both maternal and paternal sides ; it permits marriage with maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter.

Sale of Girls :

The Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃ[247] (Ṛtaṃ vai satyaṃ yajño'nṛtam strī anṛtaṃ vā eṣā karoti ya patyuḥ krītā satyathanyaiśc-harati) states that "she indeed commits falsehood (sin) who, being purchased by her husband roams about with other males." Jaimini[248] puts forward the plausible argument that women have right to perform Vedic sacrifices—"one should give to the daughter's father a hundred cows plus a chariot (śatam-atirathaṃ duhitṛmate dadyāt) ; and he[249] replies that such a gift is not for purchasing the girl ; it is only a duty and a hundred must be given but only as present, whether the girl is beautiful or not (Krayasya dharma-mātatvam) and Śabara comments : "Niyataṃ tu idaṃ dānam. Śatam-atirathaṃ śobhanām-aśobhanām kanyām prati". From this we may assume that though marriage by sale was in practice in the period of the Mait. Sam, such practice was condemned by Jaimini in the later Sūtra period. Āpas. D.S.[250] also denies the gift and act of purchase about one's child. (Dānaṃkraya-dharmaś chāpatyasya na vidyate) and it asserts that the Vedic passage, noted above, of the gift of a hundred cows plus of a chariot is meant for the fulfilment of duty and not a sale transaction and that the word 'Kraya' is only figurative, because the relation between a hundred and a wife is established from dharma. (tasmātkraya-śabdaḥ saṃstuti-mātraṃ dharmāddhi sambandhaḥ). Besides, 'deyaṃ tan-mithuyādkuryāt' shows that the gift of a hundred cows and a chariot, made to the bride's father must be made to belong to the married couple, that means, the entire gift is returned to the giver. The Same Vedic passages are also quoted in Vasiṣṭha D.S.[251] in support

of the Mānuṣa or Āsura form of marriage. Yāska[252], while explaining the ṛc. 1.109.2, remarks that the term "Vijāmātā" means among the people of South India that husband of a woman who is purchased; that means, he is a defigent bridegroom and so he had to purchase a girl at high cost. Thus the Nirukta established the sale of girls at least in South India in the time of Yāska. Elsewhere[253] Yāska, while explaining the ṛc III.31.1 says that women do not inherit because gift, sale and abandonment of woman exist. But the legend of Śunaḥśepa[254] shows that males were also victims of these transactions. However, the Dharmasūtras of Āpastamba, as shown above and of Bodhyāyana[255] shows how this practice of sale of girls was severely condemned. Such a women was not recognized as wife (patnī) but only as a maidservant (dāsī).

Infanticide :

Westermarck[256] gives us a detailed account of this evil practice among different societies, barbarous and cultured in ancient and modern times: But he is wrong to comment so with regard to the Vedic period. In ṛc[257] (āre matkarta rahasū-rivāgaḥ) means "cast of from me sin as a woman who secretly gives birth to a child"; but this ṛc refers to only the expossure of a child born by an unmarried woman. Hence we know nothing from this of the child born by legally wedded wife. Zimmer and Delbruck refer to TS[258] (āvabhṛtam-avayanti parā sthālī-r-asyanti udvāyavyāni haranti tasmāt striyaṃ jātām parāsyanti ut pumāṇsaṃ haranti) i.e., "they go to the final sacrificial bath, they keep aside the pots and take up the vessels for Vāyu: therefore they (the people) keep aside the girl when she is born and lift up the son; "but this passage states only the fact that the Vedic people preferred sons to daughters but nothing about the infanticide. The same idea is also explained in AV[259] in which a daughter is referred to as misery (Kṛpaṇam) and a son is a light in the highest heaven (jyoti-r-ha putraḥ parame vyoman) and also in Mahābhārata.[260] But Āpas. Gṛ. S.[261] prescribes that the father would greet his daughter also with a mantra after

returning from journey. Women were not disregarded in the Vedic period, as reflected in the ṛc[262] which glorifies one's wife as a haven of rest (jāyedastam) and in the Chānd. Upaniṣad.[263]

Auspicious time for Marriage :

The ṚV[264] may be quoted here: "Sūryāya vahatuḥ prāgāt savitā yam-avāsṛjat/ aghāsu hanyante gāvo'rjunyoḥ paryuhyate//". It means that the presentation (of cows etc.) was sent to the house of her groom, which Savitā offered and the cows were killed (?) or (according to Sāyaṇa) are beaten with rods, to be urged to move on the day when the moon was in conjunction with the constellation of Aghā-s (i.e. Maghā) and Sūryā was carried (to the bridegroom's house) on the two phālguṇis (which follow the Maghā) and the bride was conveyed on any of the next two days. The Āśva.Gṛ.S.[265] (Udagayana āpūryamāna-pakṣe Katyāṇe nakṣatre chaula-karmo'panayana-godāna-vivāhāḥ) states that Chaula, Upanayana, godana and marriage must be celebrated in the period when the Sun moves north, in the bright half of the month and on an auspicious lunar mansion. The Āpas. Gṛ S.[266] enjoins that the father should offer his daughter desiring her to be dear to her husband, on the niṣtyā (Svātī) lunar mansion and this rule is in accordance with the text of the Brāhmaṇa.[267]

Forms of Marriage :

The Āśva. Gṛ.S. is the only source of the period of transition between Vedic and Post-Vedic literature, where we come across for the first time eight forms of marriages which are frequently mentioned in the Smṛtis of Manu, Yājñāvalkya and others. The Mānava Gṛ.S.[268] mentions only two forms, Brāhma and Śulka (or Āsura). However, let us enquire into proper Vedic literature.

In the primitive society two opposite sexes united themselves, of their own accord, without any external force and this spirit is still found amongst animals. Hence it is not

unlikely that the Gāndharva form of marriage was in practice also among the Vedic Aryans. The ṚV[269] (Bhadrā Vadhū-r-bhavati yat supeśāh svayam sā mitram vanute jane chit) shows how that wife alone was taken to be auspicious who, being beautiful, selected her mate even in the midst of an assembly. Sāyaṇa comments : Yā vadhūḥ bhadrā kalyānī supeśāḥ śobhanā-rūpā cha bhavati sā Draupadī-Damayantyādikā vadhū svayam ātmanaiva jane chit janamadhye avasthitam itimitram priyam-Arjuna-Nalādikaṃ patim vanute yāchate svayamvara-dharmeṇa yāchate". Fairs or festivals offered and still offer fair chance of one another's company and the pairs had free choice of selecting their own mates. The ṛc[270] (āvāṃ patitvaṃ sakhyāya jagmuṣīyoṣā vṛṇītā jenyā yuvām patī) states that the girl (Sūryā) chose the Aśvins as her husbands. The term 'jenyā' here has been commented on by Sāyaṇa—"ājidhāvanena jīyamānā, i.e., she has been conquered by the skill in races and if this interpretation is accepted, it may be taken as an example of a custom, practised in cases of Sītā and Draupadī where the bride was given in marriage to the suitor who showed a particular skill in archery. The AV[271] (Ā no Agne sumatiṃ saṃbhalo famedimām kumārīṃ sahano bhagena/ jukṭā vareṣu samareṣu valgu roṣam patyā saubhagam astvasyai) states clearly the prayer to Agni so that a wooer may come to the girl, along with fortune, she is enjoyable to suitors and agreeable at festivals. Thus the parents left the daughters free in choosing her own lover and their love-making ultimately resulted in marriage. The Gandharvas are elsewhere called husbands of the Apsaras.[272] (Jāyā id vo apsaraso Gandharvā patayo yūyam). They were already known in the Vedic period as libidinous, as evidenced by the TS[273] and AB.[274] The Mbh.[275] recommends the svayamvara system in cases of Kṣattriyas. The svayamvara is practically the Gāndharva system. The Mbh.[276] (sakāmāyāḥ sakāmena nirmantraḥ śreṣṭha uchyate) speaks highly of the Gāndharva form by which a desiring woman is married with a desiring man, even without the help of any religious ceremony. But this Gāndharva system fell into disuse from the time of the Dharmaśāstras, probably for two reasons—(i) Children were regarded as a part of the pro-

perty and so they were not allowed freedom of choice and (ii) secondly, the child-marriage was supported by the Dharmasūtras and hence the pre-puberty marriage gave a death blow to this form of marriage. It is interesting to note that there is no question of gift of the daughter in Gāndharva marriage, because this marriage takes place by mutual consent of the couple and without the notice of the parents. That is why the Dharmaśāstras do not approve of this marriage, though, of course, the Dharmasūtras sanction it. The Gobhila Gṛ.S.[277] tells us that some took it to be praiseworthy because of its origin from mutual love. (Gāndharvam ityeke praśaṃsanti snehānugatatvāt) and the Āśva. Gṛ.S.[278] takes it to be a marriage of mutual contract. (Gandharvaḥ samayān-mithaḥ).

Now let us discuss the other forms of marriage, as noted in Āśva. Gṛ. S. and in Dharmasūtras of Gautama and Bodhāyana and in the Dharmaśāstras of Manu, Yājñavalkya and others. Āśva. Gṛ.S.[279] (alaṃkrtya kanyāmudakapūrvam dadyā-deṣa brāhmo vivāhaḥ) speaks of this form by which the maiden decorated is offered along with water, expressing distinctly that it was the case of the gift of the girl by the father to the bridegroom. This form was in practice as early as the Ṛgveda, as noted in the hymn[280] where we find the gift of the daughter Sūryā by her father Savitṛ. This ṛc mentions also dowry (vahatu), sent before Sūrya's departure to her husband's house. This ṛc (Sūryāyā Aśvina varāgni-r-āsīt purogavaḥ) states that the Āśvins were wooers and Agni was the forerunner to place the proposal of marriage to Savitṛ. (cf. AV, XIV.1.8). The AB[281] (Prajāpati-r-vai Somaya rājñe duhitaraṃ prāyacchat Sūryāṃ Sāvitrīṃ tasyai sarve devā āgacchan) states that while Prajāpati wanted to give way his daughter Sūryā in marriage to the king Soma, all the gods seeking her hand came to the royal court as suitors. This story shows that it was a case of svayambara system which was in vogue in the period concerned. However, this marriage-hymn of the RV (and of the AV) indicates all the important details and ideals, observed till today among the Hindus. Hence this Brāhma marriage was so appreciated early in the

Vedic period for the social decency and religious considerations which it presupposes.

Āśvalāyana Gṛ.S.[282] mentions next the Daiva form, Ṛtvije vitate Karmaṇi dadyādalamkṛtya sa daivo), i.e., the father makes the gift of the daughter, well-decorated to the priest who performs the sacrifice. This form of marriage was in vogue even as early as the Ṛgvedic period, as reflected in the ṛc[283]; and the legend, based on this hymn, as narrated in the Bṛhad-devatā[284] reveals that Śyāvāśva was the son of Archanānas who was sacrificing for Rathavīti Dālbhya. The father asked Rathavīti the hand of his daughter for his son Śvāvāśva but the wife of Rathavīti insisted on her son-in-law's being a Ṛṣi. Śaśīyasī, wife of Taranta, another patron of the priest presented Śvāvaśva with much wealth. Śvāvaśva became a Ṛṣi by praising the Maruts; and as a result was offered the hand of the princess. The Śāṅkha. Ś.S. also refers to the gifts Śvāvāsva obtained from Vaidadaśvi. It is interesting to note that this form was confined to brāhmaṇas alone, as a brāhmaṇa bride was, however, nowhere spoken of as sacrificial fee in the Vedic literature; but in the later period it was accepted as a part of a dakṣiṇā for officiating, as evidenced by Bodhāyana D.S.[286] (dakṣiṇāsu nīyamānāsvantarvedi ṛtvije sa daivaḥ). Gobindasvāmin on Bodh. D.S. says distinctly that "the bride is in this form a part of the sacrificial fee", compared with it the Brāhma form is superior, because in Daiva the girl is offered in lieu of services of the bridegroom to the father; whereas in Brāhma it is a pure gift.

The Ārṣa form is referred to as "go-mithunam datvo' payaccheta sa ārṣaḥ".[287] The bridegroom would marry the girl after making a gift of a couple of cows (or a cow and bull) to the bride's father. Whether this form of marriage was a matter of sale or gift of the daughter in the Vedic period has already been discussed. The suggestion of A. C. Das in his "Ṛgvedic Culture" that it was called ārṣa, because "a daughter was married to a Ṛṣi for his vast knowledge and spiritual culture," can not be accepted because there is no such evidence in the Vedic literature. Besides, Dr. Pandey agrues rightly that "reverence and demand both would go ill to-

gether." There is no doubt that this form became obsolete in the post-Vedic period, as Manu[288] condemns it as a sale, whether one accepts a large sum or a small one. (Alpo' pyevaṃ mahān vāpi vikraya-s-tāvad-eva saḥ).

The Prājāpatya form is defined in Āśv. Gṛ.S.[289]—"seha dharman charataiti Prājāpatyaḥ", meaning that the father handed over the daughter to the suitor on condition that 'they should both perform their duties (both civic and religious). The texts of Gautama (saṃyoga-mantraḥ prājapatyaḥ saha dharmaṇ chāryatam iti) and Manu[290] (sahobhau charataṃ dharmam-iti vāchanubhāsya) convey the same sense. The very term "prājāpatya" suggests that the pair were married for discharging their debts to Prajāpati, i.e., for the same of progeny. This form is omitted in Āpas. D.S. and Vasiṣṭha D.S., but this omission does not mean that they fell almost into disuse during their times; because Manu and Yajñavalkya mention it, practically repeating the same idea of the Āśva. Gṛ.S. Manu recommends the first four forms of marriage, mentioned in his list as loudable (praśasta) and opines that the sons of Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa and Prājāpatya marriages bring purification to 10.7.6 and 3 male ancestors and descendants respectively, suggesting thereby that the issues of such marriages follow the Aryan ideals of marriage.

Next to these four laudable forms Manu mentions four more, not laudable but sanctioned in the society, viz., Āsura, Gandharva, Rākṣasa and Paiśācha.

The Āsura form of marriage is defined in Āśva. Gṛ. S.[291] and in Manu[292] (Jñātibhyo dravinaṃ datvā kanyāyai chaiva śaktitaḥ/ Kanyāpradānam svācchandyād-āsuro dharma uchyate//), meaning thereby that the husband marries the girl after paying money to the relations of the bride and also to the bride himself. Thus in this period this marriage was more concerned with money and so it was a full-fledged form of purchase. This form may be traced to the Ṛgvedic period, as evidenced by the ṛc[293], explained in Nirukta[294] and also by the Maitrāyanī Saṃhitā, as discussed before. The Mānava Gṛhya Sūtra speaks of only two forms, brāhma and śaulka (or Āsura) and so it was a popular and prevailing custom of

the society in the period concerned. However, this sort of marriage was severely condemned in the post-Vedic period, evidenced by Bodh. D.S.[295] (Krītā dvavyana yā nārī sā pātrī vidhīyate) meaning that the woman, purchased by wealth is not a wife (patnī), she is not entitled to be associated with the husband in religious rites and Kaśyapa declares her to be a slave (dāsī). The father who sells his daughter is a sinner. Manu[296] says that even a śūdra should not take a gratuity when giving his daughter in marriage. This idea of condemning the sale of a girl persisted in some corners of India, as reflected in an inscription[297] of c 1425 A.D. which records that the representatives of Karṇāṭṭa, Tamil, Telegu and Lāṭa (Gujrat) brahmins signed as agreement not to take gold for daughters in marriage.

Rākṣasa :

According to Manu the Rākṣasa form means the forcible abduction of a girl from her house, while she weeps after her kinsmen are slain, and wounded and their houses are broken open. This definition, suggests a scene of fighting in the background of which the girl is captured by force and taken away for marriage. Of course, such a custom is still found in India among the Gonds and Birhols, the aboriginal tribes of India. So it might have prevailed among the primitive people of India. This process was practised in the Vedic period when the Aryans had to fight out the non-Aryans and when they enjoyed captive women was war-booties. But it is interesting to note that the Aryans were accustomed to secure wives more from within their tribe than from outside. Hence, there does not arise the question of taking the rākṣasa marriage as the union with the maiden of hostile tribe or enjoying her as war-booty. Besides, the cases of capture of girls for this marriage are found sometimes to have been prearranged with the consent of the bride, as reflected in the instances of Rukmiṇī and Subhadrā. Even in the Vedic age we find a similar case, as, reflected in the RV[298] ('Yabhiḥ patnī-r-vimadāya nyūhayuḥ-1.112.19 ; 'yava-r-bhagāya vimadāya jāyāṃ senājuvā nyūhatū rathena' in 1.1161 ; 'yavaṃ suṣutiṃ

chakratuḥ puraṃdhaye//" in X.39.7 and 'Kamadyuvam Vimadāyohathuḥ" in X.65.12). Vimada, carried off Purumitra's daughter against her father's consent, possibly with her own consent, of course, with the grace of the Aśvins. The ṛc-s. noted above show signs of war in and through the terms 'rathena', 'senājuvā' and 'vadhrimatyāh'. This Āśva. Gṛ.S.[299] mentions 'rākṣasa' as the last of the list,—"hatvā bhitva cha śirṣāni rudatīṃ rudabhyo haret sa rākṣasaḥ." The commentary of Garga-Nārāyaṇa states clearly: "Yuddhaṃ Kṛtvā Kanyām-apahṛtya yo vivāhāḥ sa rākṣasa-saṃjñakaḥ," that is, the girl is carried away after fighting. The terms 'rudatīm' and 'rudadbhyaḥ' of the sūtra show that the girl is snatched off, while weeping from the midst of her relatives who are also weeping. Hence we can not expect the maiden herself a willing party in such case of snatching after fighting. This system continued at least among the Kṣattriyas, as evidenced by the Mbh.[300] ("Kṣattriyānāṃ tu vīryeṇa praśastaṃ haraṇam valāt) and by Manu[301] (rākṣasaṃ Kṣattriyasyaikam). It was current upto early medieval period of Indian history, as evidenced by the incident of the capture of Saṃyuktā by Pṛthvīrāja, of course, the maiden being a willing partner.

Last in the list of marriage of smṛtis is the Paiśācha which is highly condemned. Manu[302] says: "Paiśāchas-chaṣṭamo'dhamaḥ" (Suptāṃ mattāṃ pramattāṃ cha raho yatra' pagcchati/ sa pāpiṣṭho vīvāhānām paīśācha-saṣṭamo' dhamaḥ), i.e. when a man has intercourse with a girl stealthily, while she is sleepy, intoxicated or unconscious, it is a paiśācha process. The very term 'paiśācha,' derived from paiśāchas (goblins) indicates that this method was practised stealthily by night. This system was prevalent among the savage primitive people. There is no instance of this form of marriage in proper Vedic literature. It is mentioned in the Sūtras of Gṛhyas and Dharma and also in later smṛti-s. The Āśv. Gṛ.S.[303] (suptāṃ pramattāṃ vā' paharet sa paiśāchaḥ) shows that the girl was snatched off from among her relations who were sleeping or unconscious; it, however, places 'paiśācha' before 'rakṣasa.' It is surprising that the smṛtis legalise these worst forms of rākṣasa and paiśācha marriage by capture or stealth. But the sages condemned them and particularly the paiśācha

in no measured terms. These are really not to be accepted as marriage proper but these are only the means of securing a girl by capture or stealth, practised in the society. Both Āpas. & Vasiṣṭha reject the Paiśācha. Vasiṣṭha[304] (Valācchet prahṛtā kanyā mantrai-r-yadi na saṃskṛtā/anyasyai vidhivad-deyā yathā kanyā tathaiva sā), rather, is of the view that in cases where a girl as is abducted by force, and not married with the sacred texts, she may be lawfully given to another man in marriage and she is still as good as a maiden. Bodh. D.S.[305] recommends āsura and paiśācha to vaiśyas, and Sūdras alone, because these two varṇas have their wives uncontrolled, as they are occupied with agriculture and waiting upon others. Thus there is still doubt that this form was strongly condemned even in the Smṛti period, may what to speak of the Vedic period. This form falls far short of the ideal of marriage of the Vedic Aryans, as set forth in the ṚV[306], where the bride is a gift by the father in the presence of gods and the Fire-god.

Marriage Rituals :

The ṚV[307] gives us some details of ceremonies of marriage, some of which have survived still today among the Hindus. Two Aśvins played the role of a matchmaker and went to Savitṛ, father of Sūryā for her hand in marriage with Soma. Savitṛ agreed to the proposal and honoured Soma with (vahatu') presents and cows were killed for (presented to) him. Soma took the hand of the girl with the mantra 'Grbh-nami te saubhagatvaya-". The girls, being gifted, passed over to the control of her groom and was blessed so that she might live long with her husband, obtain ten sons and be the mistress of the husband's household with full authority over parents, brothers and sisters of her husband. It mentions also the fact of sending Raibhyā as her friend or maidservant (anudeyī) along with her to her husband's house. The same ṛc (V.36) states clearly that the aim of marriage was the performance of a householder's duties (garhapatyāya).

The AB[308] describes the marriage ceremonies, in some verses repeating the contents of the ṚV, noted in the hymn

referred to above. The bride, well-dressed, in the opaśa style started for her husband's house in a chariot, with her koṣa ((coffer), amidst benefictions for her life of fortune. On the wedding day the bride was bathed in water, consecrated with Vedic verses and dressed and she was made to stand on a 'firm stone' (druvā) in the lap of the "divine earth" and the bridegroom took her hand with Vedic mantras, "in order to good fortune", so that she might be "long-lived". Then he gave her garments for beauty and after praying for scaring away demons and blessing the bridal car, they started on a marriage procession. Reaching the new house of her husband the bride sat with her groom before the domestic fire, and worshipped Angi with her husband. The bride was blessed: "Let there come forth from the lap of this mother animals (paśu—here children) of various forms as one of excellent omen, sit thou by this fire, with thy husband (saṃpatnī), be thou serveiceable to the gods here, very propitious to thy husband, wealful to thy father-in-law, pleasant to thy mother-in-law, do thou enter these houses. Be pleasant to father-in-law, pleasant to husband, to houses, pleasant to all this clan, pleasant unto their property be thou ...... what evil-hearted young women and likewise what old ones (are) here—do ye all now give splendour to her. Then go asunder and away home."[309]

Next we have the description of consummation of marriage in AV.[310] The bride was asked to "mount the coach with favouring mind, here give birth to progeny for this husband." Viśvāvasu, the Gandharva, interested in maidens was prayed for to go away from her and the couple were united together, with a prayer for progeny. The tribal garment was given to a priest, to slay the demons of the coach. Amidst numerous benefications the husband welcomed his wife with the mantra: "He am I, she thou; chant am I, verse thou and heaven I, earth thou."

It is interesting to note that the marriage practices, in the RV and AV, as noted above were almost the same with slight changes in AV, the ceremony of 'pāṇigrahaṇa', i.e., grassping the hand of the bride by her groom 'being the most

important one, with the motive of gaining progeny and a life of domestic duties. The AV speaks of the prayer for progeny, but not for ten sons, as in RV. As regards procedure in respect of rites of marriage there must have occurred many differences, as evidenced by Gṛhasūtras like those of Āśvalāyana[311] and Āpasthamba[312] which mention that customs of different countries and villages are to be followed and that even women of the locality are to be asked local customs. However, some mantras of the RV[313] had been used in the marriage ceremony in the days of the Gṛhyasūtras, as still today. The Āśva. Gṛ. S. begins this rite with the kindling of fire, placing the millstone and a waterjar and offering of oblation to fire by the bridegroom, then the groom takes hold of the hand of the bride with the mantra[314] desiring children, male, female or both and utters the mantra—"Amo'ham-asmi sā tvm", desiring to marry and live, dear to each other for a hundred years. Next he makes the bride move round the fire and tread on the stone with the mantra meaning swearing firmness like a stone. (aśmeva tvaṃ sthirā bhava). Then the brother or any one in his place should pour clarified butter over her joined hands and fried grain twice (thrice in case of the Jamadagni gotra of the groom) and again clarified butter. Next the bride would sacrifice fried grain four times. Then he would loosen her two locks of hair with mantras.[315] After this the bridegroom causes the bride step forward in a north-eastern direction seven steps with the words, 'first step for sap, second for juice, third for prospering of wealth, fourth for comforts, fifth for the cattle, sixth for the seasons and seventh for devotion to him (mām-anuvratā-bhava) with a prayer for progeny and long life. (putrān vindāvahai vahūṃste santu jaradaṣṭyaha iti).

Then the āchārya sprinkles over the heads of the couple with water from the jar. The bride should pass that night in the house of a brāhmaṇa woman living with her husband and children. After looking at the Dole star, the star Arundhatī and seven sages the bride would say: "May I, with husband living, get offspring." On the eve of their journey (to their home) the husband would make his wife mount the chariot with the mantra: "Pūṣā tveto nayatu hastagṛhyā[316] and des-

cend into the beat with the hemistich—"Aśmanvatī rīyate."[317] They carry the nuptial fire in front all through. At the auspicious places, trees and crossroads he would mutter the mantra (māvidan paripanthinaḥ)[318] and would look at the onlookers with the mantra—(Sumaṇgalī-r-iyam vadhūḥ)[319] (this newly married wife brings good luck). He would make her enter his house with the mantra—"Iha priyaṃ prajayā te samṛdhyatāw-"[320] meaning happiness increasing through offspring. Then he would offer oblation to fire, while the bride is seated beside him with the verses[321] and then he tastes curd, with the ṛc[322] and gives the remaining curds to her or he besmear the heart of both with the rest of 'ājyā' (ghee). Next he would live the life of celilacy, avoiding kṣāra (cereals or salt known as Yava-kṣāra) and Lavaṇa (salt), wear ornaments and sleep on the ground for 3 or 12 nights or for a year, according to some teachers who believe that a Ṛṣi would be born to them. These vows being fulfilled, he would give the garment of the bride to a brahmin who knows the Sūryā hymn and food to brahmins. Last he would cause the brahmins to utter the auspicious words.

From the above sources we know that the Vedic marriage ritual consists of six principal sections :—(i) bestowal of the bride, at least in some forms, by the bride's father or bestower, (ii) holding of the bride's palm (pāṇigrahaṇa), (iii) stepping on the stone-slab by the bride, (aśmārohaṇa), (iv) fire-ritual (Kuśaṇḍikā) with lāja-homa or offering of pop-rice, ghee to fire, (v) rite of seven steps (Sapta-padī) of the bride and bridegroom together and (vi) blessings and prayers, of which one may be quoted here—Ā naḥ prajāṃ janayatu Prajāpatiḥ/ ā jarasāya samanaktu Aryamā// tvā'dur-maṅgalīḥ patilokam-a-viśa-śaṃ no bhava dvipade, saṃ chatuṣpade//"—trans. May the god of creatures grant us progeny. May Aryaman, the Lord of men, annoint us together for old age. The auspicious goddesses have given you to me. Enter your husband's home. Be good in your home to both man and beasts. The ceremony ends with the bride's prayers to the Pole Star and Arundhatī star for wifely fidelity and with the Purohita's auspicious verse 'Sumaṅgalīriyaṃ vadhūḥ-". Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee'[323] comment on this ritual

deserves mention here: "The old Vedic wedding ritual which grew out of Indian Aryandom as it developed from the earlier Indo-European culture world, has a wonderful beauty, with its background of commonsense and reason...... This Vedic marriage ritual is also suffused with the atmosphere of love and understanding between man and wife which comes into play so naturally,—the young couple are already prepared to meet and love each other"...... "It is a great heritage of good sense and aesthetic beauty which......we Hindus as modern people can not afford to lose, but must cherish and maintain in our life". Kane[324] has also drawn our attention to three parts of the marriage ritual, preliminary, essential and subsequent rites and to the rites of "pāṇigrahaṇa', the essence of the saṃskāra. He has given us a fairly exhaustive list of the different matters" of this saṃskāra on the basis of the Gṛhyasūtras, some of which are referred to in the above survey. The marriage procession in which the bridegroom with his friends and relations goes to the house of the bride on conveyance like a chariot is mentioned as early as in the ṚV[325] and AV.[326] The Āśva. Gṛ. S. speaks of an elephant or a horse as an alternative of the chariot.

The ṚV[327] seaks of Soma. Gandharva, Agni, and the human husband enjoying a maiden in consecretive stages, one after another. Sāyaṇa explains that soma enjoys a girl when she is too young to feel any sexual urge. Gandharva takes her when the sexual desire has just started in her, she is offered to Agni during wedding and from Agni man wins her for the wealth and progeny. These verses exhibit different stages of the gradual evolution of the bride, her body and mind. It is interesting to note that 'sindūra-dāna' i.e. putting the vermilion mark on the top of bride's forehead at the parting of her hair, which is the most essential feature of the present-day Hindu marriage is conspicuous by its absence in the Vedic literature and even in the Gṛhyasūtras. The belief, current in Vedic times, that a maiden was to be enjoyed by four hands in consecutive stages as shown above, in ṚV., might have worked behind the principle of appeasement of Viśvāvasu, a Gandharva, as recorded in later texts like Bodhāyana Gṛ.S.[328] where we find the mention of 'trirātravrata, i.e., the vow of

observing continence for three nights, already referred to in connection with 'chaturthī-karaṇam'. Keith also refers to the fact that "for the nights immediately after the marriage, a staff which represents the Gandharva Viśvāvasu is placed between them, and not until it is formally dismissed to the highest region, is the marriage completed."[329] Dr. Das, however, thinks that "this rod was supposed to be inhabited by Viśvāvasu Gandharva, and was the witness of the pairs' Brahmacharya". (Ṛgvedic culture, p. 381). There is no doubt that this vow is meant for a lesson to the married couple that marriage is not a mere passport for sexual pleasure but it is meant for a happy and healthy life, based on perfect self-control. It is interesting to note that the AV[330] (Brahmacharyeṇa Kanyā yuvānaṃ vindate patim) insists on a life of discipline (brahmacharya) which a maiden must undergo before going to marry her husband. The commentator also says: "akṛtavivāhā strī brahmacharyaṃ charati". The Bṛhad-devatā[331] speaks of Vāk as 'brahmavādinī' and it[332] mentions a number of female Ṛṣis of the Vedic period, viz., Ghoṣā, Godhā, Viśvabārā, Apālā, and many others as 'brahmavādinī', showing thereby that maidens were observers of the vow of brahmacharya and learned in Vedas and above all, some Vedic mantras were revealed to them. The Bṛh.Upa.[333] (Ya icched duhitā me paṇḍitā jāyeta) points out distinctly how some women were desired to be learned before marriage; and it speaks of Maitreyī, Gārgī, Vāchaknavī and others as 'brahmavādinī.'

Position of Wife :

So far as the position of women is concerned, we may say that women were regarded in matters of education and religious duties as good as men and they were sufficiently learned in Vedic learning and acquired a training in control of sexes before marriage. The Śvetāśvatara Upa.[334] (Naiva strī na pumāneva na chaivāyaṃ napuṃsakaḥ/ yadyaccharīram-ādatte tena tena sa Yujyate//") declares precisely that there is little distinction between sexes in the eye of Indian philosophy. India realises Brahman as the Ultimate Truth and hence the

man and the woman are essentially the same, both of them being manifestations of the same spirit, their difference is only an external element. The body alone through which the highest self is manifested is known as male or female. Women had a distinguished hold in the life of a householder; and they had, as wives, full right in the performance of sacrifices and social duties. The very term 'patnī' shows how a woman came to be known as so, because she was a partner in sacrifices. (Pāṇ. 4.1.33; Patyurno yajña-saṃyoge). The Taitt. Āranyaka awards equal rights to women in the recitation of mantras, offering oblations to Fire and also in the songs of the Sāman. Even orthodox teachers like Jaimini[335] teach us that both the sexes were equally entitled to sacrifices. (arthena cha samavetatvāt). The Āśva. Ś.S.[336] also speaks of the duty of a wife in rituals. (Vedaṃ patnyai pradāya vāchayed hotā adhvaryuvā vedo'si vitti-r-asi etc.).

Cow-killing in Marriage :

It has already been pointed out in connection with marriage-rituals that the ṚV.[337] states that the cows were killed in the Aghā (Maghā) in honour of the bridegroom and they were carried to the house of his in the Pūrva and Uttara-Falguṇi. (aghāsu hanyanti gāvo' rjunyoḥ paryuhyate). Elsewhere the ṛc[338] speaks of a place, fixed for cow-killing. (mitrakruvo yacchasane na gāvaḥ). Even at present the marriage-ceremony includes the recitation of a mantra, as enjoined in Gobhila Gṛ.S.[339] by the bridegroom.

"Oṃ muñcha gām Varuṇa-pāśād dviṣantaṃ dviṣantaṃ me' bhidhehīti tat jahyamṛṣya Chobhayo-r-utsṛja gāmattu tṛṇāni pivatūdakamiti Vrūyāt," after the announcement of "Gou-r-gauḥ" by the barber. The above mantra means—"Let this cow be released from the noose of Varuṇa. Let her go with permission of the sacrificer and of mine. Let the butcher also go. Let this cow take grass and drink." This mantra is also found in the Sāmamantra Brāhmaṇa[340] and in the Khādira Gṛ.S.[341] The bridegroom is also asked to pronounce the mantra.[342] :

"Mātā Rudrāṇām duhitā Vasūnāṃ
Svasādityānām-amṛtasya nābhiḥ/
Pra nu vochaṃ chikituṣe janāya
mā gām-anāgām-aditiṃ Vadhiṣṭha//"

which means : "This cow is the mother of Rudras, daughter of Vasus ; sister of Ādityas, source of ambrosia, do not kill the innocent cow which is Aditi, I told this to the wise men." This mantra shows the prevalence of cow-killing during marriage in the Vedic period. "The cow was the choicest present among the Indo-Aryans". But even in the Ṛgvedic period the cow was held in high esteem ; as reflected in the above quoted ṛc and it was regarded as too sacrosanct to be killed for any guest. Later on, the idea of non-violence gained momentum as a result of the impact of Buddhism and Jainism and gradually cow-killing was prohibited in the Kaliage in the Purāṇas and Smṛtis. The Kārikā on Pāraskara Gṛ.S. states that "in the Kaliage in all cases the cow is offered as a gift owing to the prohibition of cow-slaughter.

Polygamy in the Vedic period has been treated in my treatise "political and legal institutions in the Vedic literature." From various evidences of the Vedic literature like the ṚV[345] AV,[346] AB,[347] TS,[348] TB[349] and ŚB[350] it is clear that polygamy prevailed in the Vedic period among different sections of the society including even the kings and the rich. The ṚV (1.105.8 "Saṃ māṃ tapanti abhitaḥ sapatnīriva parśavaḥ) compares a person, attached by his foes on all sides to a husband, troubled by his jealous wives . The AV. (III.18) gives us charms to enable a cowife to monopolise the love of the common husband. The Mait. Sam.[351] also speaks of Manu, having ten wives. (Mano'-r-vai daśa-jāyā āsan daśaputrā navaputrā aṣṭaputrā saptaputrā ṣaṭputrā pañchaputrā chatuṣputrā triputrā dviputrā ekaputrā). But it deserves mention that the Vedic rituals, as noted in the ṚV., AV., and even in the Gṛhyasūtras mention nowhere the cooperation of any co-wife. Hence we may think that monogamy was the ideal of the Vedic people, though, however, in practice they took to polygamy, perhaps under the influence of the non-Aryans.

Polyandry has also been treated in the same treatise of mine, noted above (p. 285) and in 'intercaste marriage in

India," of mine where some ṛcs[352] have been discussed to show the prevalence of this custom even among the Vedic people. But it is difficult to assert its existence in view of the fact that the AB[353] declares its absurdity. (naikasya vahvaḥ sahapatnyaḥ). However, the AV[354] speaks of a punarbhū, i.e., a woman who has become again a wife in connection with a sacrifice which she performs to be united with her second and not the first husband in the next world. Of course, it is difficult to say whether her first husband was still living when she became a 'Punarbhū,' Bodhāyana D.S.[355] refers to the case where the first husband is dead and the second marriage, as noted in the above text of the AV. appears to be a sin which had to be atoned for by a sacrifice. Gautama,[356] of course, advises some special circumstances under which a woman is allowed to re-marry. Love was the uniting bond between the husband and wife and the religious duty was the end of marriage during the Vedic period. Savitṛ is said to have offered Sūryā to Soma who she had desired (Sūryā yat patye śaṃsantīm manasā Savitādadāt-ṚV., X.85.9) and thus a willing bride was given in marriage. Mutual love was the basis of an ideal marriage contract as expressed in the words of Yama ("Tasya vā tvaṃ mana icchā sa vā tavādhā kṛṇuṣva saṃvidam Subhadrām"—ṚV., X.10.14), as without it rupture in the married life is inevitable to come, as we find in the case of Purūravā where Ūrvaśī yielded only her body but never her heart. Thus love was the strong foundation of marriage on which the wedded life was built for the propagation of their race, for the fulfilment of duties, material and spiritual and for gaining the life of immortality (amṛtasya lokam in ṚV., X.85.20) and of good deeds (Sukṛtasya loke in ṚV., X.85.24).

Antyeṣṭi (Funeral Rites) :

The Bodh. Pitṛmedha Sūtra[357] speaks of two saṃskāra-s of every man as debts, which must be performed, one on birth and the other on death. The ceremony on birth helps one to conquer this earth, while the rites, done after one's death lead one to conquer the heaven (Jātā-saṃskāre ṇemaṃ lokam-

abhijayati mṛta-saṃskāreṇāmuṃ lokam). The Śrauta and Gṛhyasūtras are mine of information about the different funeral rites and ancestral worship. However, the Saṃhitās throw some light on the processes of the disposal of the dead body and the rituals to be done at and after one's death. It deserves mention that the Vedic Aryans feared death but not the spirits of the fathers. Fear of death, combined with love and regard for the ancestors induced men to offer food and other articles to their ancestors. Here let us begin our study, first on the disposal of the dead, before enquiry into the Vedic forms of ancestor worship.

Disposal of the Dead in Ancient India :

The question whether burial preceded cremation or cremation preceded burial in our ancient India is subject to serious controversy among scholars and hence requires our careful examination of the evidences, both archeological and literary, though, of course, they are too meagre to help us with any decision conclusion.

The archeological evidences, unearthed at Mohenjodaro and Harappa exhibit cases of burial which may be classed under three heads, complete, fractional and post-cremation. Very rare indeed are "the examples of complete burial. At Mohenjodaro were found twentyone skeletons which, it is hard to believe are the examples of orthodox burial, duly carried out in accordance with the customs in vogue at the time." Sir J. Marshall says that these "Skeletons represent three distinct racial types, viz., Proto-Australoids, Mediterraneans, and Alpines" and there is no reason to doubt that "these burials date from the declining years of Mohenjodaro's prosperity." At Harappa several examples of this mode of sculpture, unquestionably orthodox have been exposed in the lower stratum of cemetry of Harappa.

The practice of exposing the dead to wild birds or beasts of prey and then burying the remains, if any, of the excarnated bones seems to have been very rare in the period of Indus Valley culture. Mohenjodaro discloses only five such burials and Harappa only two, where we come across a few skulls. On

the contrary, we have a big grant of fractional jar-burials at Harappa, of course, belonging to the later Indus period in which the excarnated bones were placed in urns instead of in the ground and were unaccompanied by any of the offerings, vessels or other objects, found in the earlier class of fractional burials. Complete and fractional burials are found out at Nal and Shahi Lump where the culture was more akin to the Persian than to the Indian; and so it is not unreasonable to infer that the cases of fractional burials at Mahenjodaro or at the Harappa were due to the influence of the Persian culture upon the Indian and also on account of the infiltration of the western people of at least three different races, as referred to in connection with the skeletons unearthed at Mohenjo-daro.

Post-cremation of burials of the Chalcolithic age are in plenty in both the sites of Mohenjodaro and Harappa where pottery of the Indus culture had been prevalent. The practice of post-cremation burial was nothing but a compromise via media between cremation and burial, by which the body was burnt and then burried. At both the sites "a class of large wide-mouthed urns have been brought to light, containing a number of smaller vases, bones of small quadrupeds, birds or fish and frequently a variety of other small objects such as beads, bangles etc, sometimes mingled with ashes and charcoal." At Mohenjodaro mention should be made of a collection of charred human bones including pieces of a skull and finger-joints, along with a number of goblets, dishes and other vessels, the whole mingled with ash or charcoal. At Harappa as the data in regard to these offerings vessels are more abundant than at Mohenjodaro. The cases where charred human bones and ashes are found, mixed with vessels and objects prove beyond doubt the practice of post-cremation burials. But it should be noted that human bones are but very rarely found in the urns. Indeed, out of 126 urns at Harappa, only one contained a human bone and that also showed no signs of burnings. Marshall explains this absence of such bones by a similar practice in the Punjab even today, i.e., "to take the remains of the bones from the funeral pyre, pound them to dust and then commit them to the river." A large number of such post-cremation urns were also found by Sir Aural Stein

in Beluchistan and "such burials he took to represent a traditional stage leading to the deposit of the entire body in the earth, as at Nal and Shahi Lump.

Sir J. Marshall in his "Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization"[358] concludes categorically after cool calculation of the above evidences that cremation was the general way of disposing of the dead during the period of Indus culture—"That cremation was in practice is conclusively proved by the finding of cinerary urns or other receptacles containing calcined human bones and ashes together with vessels of burnt and other offerings for the dead and sundry articles for use in after-life. That the practice was a wide one is suggested by the discovery of many other urns containing vessels for offerings and other articles intended for the dead, but without any actual bones, the inference in their case being that the calcined bones which remained over from the pyre were either ground to powder, as they are in the Punjab today or disposed of in some other way. The conclusion arrived at in regard to these cinerary and cenotaphic urns is amply confirmed by Sir Aural Stein's discovery of similar urns at various sites in Beluchistan, many containing both human bones and vessels of offering but many only the latter." The archeological evidences form the excavations at Pāṇḍu Rājār Dhibi which claim to reveal a proto-historic civilization of at least the second millennium B.C. in the Ajoy Valley (near Bolpur) of West Bengal show also the system of burial, as two human skeletons of both extended and secondary burials (Plate XLVIII A) were found out alongwith a bowl of lustrous red ware in the Trench No. RDB-11E and six skeletal remains were discovered, four lying east to west and two in urns, covered by lids, in the human cemetery of the Trench No. RDB-lc. A study of these skaletons bring to us several very important points which can be considered in the light of discovery of similar skeletons at other archeological sites of India and outside. One of these is found with arms and legs joined together in the sites of Maharastra and at Barma Grande in Europe.

Now about the evidence culled from the Vedic literature. But let us first examine the habits of the Aryans elsewhere. A glance at the Iranian brother-race of the Indians shows that

burial was in practice among the kings of the Scythians. The bodies of the ancient Persian kings also were entombed unburnt.[359] Burial was in vogue even among the Indo-European Aryans, specially the Greeks. In the shaft-graves and in the bee-hive and chamber-tombs of the Mycenaean age the dead were entombed unburnt, in a partly mummified state. "Among nineteen dipylon-graves in the Great Athenian cemetry only one contained an urn with burnt bones. So when burying and burning are met with in the Greece of history alongside of each other, there can be no doubt that the former custom must be regarded as the more primitive and that the Homeric world with its practice of body-burning represents an innovation contrary to the primitive Greek custom of burial which is preserved in the mother country. In Rome also burial preceded cremation.[360] The excavations also indicate that burial was succeeded by cremation on Ancient Latin soil. Pre-historical archaeology shows that in the lands occupied by the Celts and Teutons during the Neolithic age, the corpses were interred unburned in dolmens, upright graves and stone-chests and that it was only after the use of bronze had become firmly established in Europe that cremation gradually came in. Hence, we may conclude that burial and not cremation was the oldest method of disposing the dead, although history gives evidence only of the latter. All these data, considered together lead us to think that so far as the Aryan races are concerned, "there is not inconsiderable probability for the priority of burial over cremation." O, Schraeder shows that this view is confirmed also by linguists.[361]

Next comes in the question of the Vedic Aryans. The Rg. Veda shows us the practices of both burial and cremation alongside of each other. In the ṛc[362] the pious ancestors who well in the joy of heaven are devided into those who have been burnt by fire and those who have not been burnt (agnidagdhāḥ and anagnidagdhāḥ). Winternitz thinks that the ṛcs (X.18.10-13) referred originally to the rite of burial.[363] In these verses the mother Earth has been invoked to save the dead from the lap of Death and to be the shelter for the dead. The Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, however, employs these mantras to be recited at the time of depositing in a pit the jar con-

taining the burnt bones of the dead. The Bṛhaddevatā[364] also mentions that these hymns of the Ṛg. Veda (X.18.10-13) are employed in the rite of collecting the bones. It may not be unlikely the Vedic Aryans continued their earlier practice of burial like other Aryans but gradually took to cremation which was the most normal process at least in the Indus of the Indus culture. The Atharvaveda[365] which according to some scholars, records the more primitive customs also speaks of three processes, of burial, of cremation and of scattering. The AV.[366] (Mā nu bhūmigṛho bhuvat—let him not now become one housing in the earth) shows that burial was not unknown in that age. The AV.[367] may be rendered as follows: "They that are buried and they that are scattered away, they that are buried, they that are set up (uddhita), all those fathers, O Agni, bring thou to eat the oblation." This verse refers distinctly to different processes of burning, burial, exposure on something elevated and scattering. ('paroptās' meaning 'dūradeśe kāṣṭhavatparityaktāḥ). Another verse of the same Veda[368] meaning, 'Let not the tree oppress thee nor the great divine earth' is a clear reference to a coffin and burial. The excavations at Lauriya Nandangarh have brought to light supposed Vedic burial mounds in which a small golden plaque bearing the figure of a nude female, the Earth Goddess has been found out.

It should be pointed out that the later ritual texts and Sāyaṇa explain these burial verses of the Ṛg. Veda and Atharvaveda as referring to the post-cremation burial, that is, they apply these verses to the later rite by which the burnt bones of the dead are placed in an urn in the earth. Historically it may not be impossible to support them because the post-cremation burial was an older practice of India in the earlier age of the Indus civilization, which is generally considered to be prevedic. Sāyaṇa, commenting on the AV.[369] as "bhūmau-nikhanana-saṃskāreṇa saṃskṛtāh" means to support the theory that burial was an earlier and orthodox method of the Vedic Aryans. The Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā of the Yujurveda[370] describes a ceremony of pitṛmedha which is nothing but the post-cremation, burial. The Pitṛmedha is more elaborately described in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,[371] in Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra[372] and

in the Taitirīya Āraṇyaka[373] and everywhere it is the name of a sacrifice ("Pitṛmedhaiti karmaṇo nāmadheyam"). The three trenches, dug out whereupon the darbhagrass is scattered for the ritual of offering cakes for the ancestors, as recorded in connection with the Piṇḍapitṛyajña in Vāj. Saṃ. may be regarded as symbolic representation of the grave. We may have an idea of the Indian grave and the burial ground from the Ś.B., Kātyā. Ś.S., and Tait. Āraṇyaka. The fact that the ascetics and infants under two years of age are still buried and never burnt may indicate the very old system of burial running from the Vedic age. Some scholars refer to the passage of the Chāndogya Upaniṣad[374] where the Asuras are mentioned as decorating the dead body with bhikṣā (flowers and perfumes?), raiments etc. to enable it to gain the next world, as a case of burial.

Prof. Keith says that burning was not necessary to take the soul to heaven in the earlier Vedic period because quoted before, proves that the unburnt dead went to heaven just like the burnt. The method of cremation became more strongly established among the Aryans in Indian soil, specially from the time of Yajurveda onwards whence we have had a clear reference to the post cremation system. It may not be unlikely that the Vedic Aryans took cremation more seriously when they looked upon fire as the guide of the soul into the distant realm of the dead. "Naturally however," says Keith, "the burning of the dead was regarded as helping the path to the sky and here and there the idea presents itself that the dead man is in a sense an offering to gods." Sāyaṇa explains the ṛc., X.16.5 as follows: "O Agni, the dead man which has been offered to you in the funeral pyre after pronouncing the sacred mantras etc. ("He Agne yaḥ pretaḥ āhutaḥ chitau mantreṇa somarpitaḥ"). He explains the AV. (18.4.51) also as "O Puruṣa (dead man), you are now fit for being offered into the Fire in the sacrifice Pitṛmedha," ("He Puruṣa tvaṃ medhyaḥ medho Yajñaḥ Pitṛmedhākhyaḥ tadarho bhavān, eti). The Pitṛmedha is called a sacrifice even in the Mahābhārata[375] (pitṛmedha dāhāntaṃ karma) and in the Rāmāyaṇa.[376] Nārāyaṇa explains the term śmaśāna' of the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra[377] as a place where the charred bones (after

cremation), collected in a jar are deposited in the earth. ("Śmaśānagrahaṇenātra śmaśāna-drayaṃ gṛhyate. Dahana-deśaścha śmaśānaṃ saṃchitya Yatrāsthīni nidhīyante teccha śmaśānam. Tad-dvavyam sarvata ā kāśam bhavet."). The Āśvalāyana Gṛ.S.[378] gives us the record of the post-cremation ceremony just in the light of a sacrifice. Hence we may not be wrong if we differ from Keith who like Macdonell says that "the burning of the dead was never decked out with the apparatus of the sacrifice", because the above evidences from the Vedic literature lead us to believe that though burial was equally practised as cremation in the age of the Ṛg. Veda and Atharva Veda, cremation was insisted upon as the better method in the period of the later Vedic literature and in the subsequent ages, quite naturally with the development of the cult of sacrifice in India. The critical analysis of the Pitṛ-medha as described in the VS. KŚS., Tait. Āra, and even in the Āśva. Gṛ.S. shows how the dead body was burnt as a matter of sacrifice to gods and then the burnt bones were buried.

This process of post-cremation burial gained so much strength that even the early Buddhists accepted it. The Mahāparinibbāna suttānta (section 14) records how the body of the Buddha was placed in an oil vessel of iron, placed on a funeral pile of all kinds of perfumes and burned and only the bones remained. The relics were divided and distributed among different chiefs who built mounds (thūpas) over them and a brāhmaṇa Dona built a mount over the jar in which the bones were collected. Frankly speaking, the Buddhist ritual, as noted here, agrees closely with some of the rules of the Āśvalāyana Gṛ.S. Even today the Hindus burn their dead according to the ritual of the Gṛhyasūtras and then collect bones or ashes to be burried into the waters of the sacred rivers like the Ganges, Jamuna etc.

Pitṛ-Worship :

Next let us discuss the Vedic concept of Pitṛ-s and the method of worshipping them. The ṚV.[379] (yenā naḥ pūrve

pitaraḥ padajñāḥ sva-r-vido abhi gā adrim-uṣṇan) and the ṛcs[380] use the words 'pitṛ' in the sense of ancient ancestors of the human race who are believed to dwell in a separate world for themselves. "That Soma which becomes stronger and stronger and makes others strong, that is strained through a strained, that flows in a stream protected us by means of the luminary (the Sun), that Soma with whose help our ancestors knowing the place (where the cows were kept concealed), and the higher-regions, harassed the mountain for the sake of recovering the cows." The Pitṛ-s are known to Agni, though all Pitṛ-s are not known to their descendants.[381] Pitṛ-s are of different types, Aṅgirasas, Vairūpa-s, Atharvans, Bhṛgu-s, Navagvas and Daśagvas.[382] The Aṅgirasas are associated with Yama who is invoked to attend the sacrifice with the Aṅgirasa.[383] Elsewhere[384] (Yenā naḥ pūrve pitaraḥ padayñāḥ archanto Angiraso gā avindan) we find that the Aṅgirasas with the help of Indra sang his praises and knew the place and found out the cows. Aṅgirasas are of two classes, Navagvas and Daśagvas ;[385] and sometimes they are identified with seven sages.[386] The Pitṛ-s are said to regale themselves in the company of gods, particularly of Yama in the RV.[387] They are fond of Soma drink,[388] they sit on Kuśagrass[389] and they come with Agni and Indra to partake of the offering.[390] Fire is said to take the departed spirit after cremation to the pitṛ-s.[391] The departed spirit is said to be endowed with an ethereal body, after cremation and to be associated with Yama and Pitṛ-s.[392]

Pitṛ-s are divided into three classes in the ŚB[393] (Tad ye somenejānāḥ. Te pitaraḥ somavanto'tha ye dattena pakvena lokaṃ jayanti he pitaro varhiṣado' tha ye tato nānyataracchana yām-agni-r-eva dahan svadayati te pitaro Agniṣvāttaḥ Eta u te ye pitaraḥ) meaning those that performed a some sacrifice are pitaraḥ Somavantaḥ ; those that offered cooked oblation like charu and puroḍāśa and secured a world are pitaraḥ Varḥisadaḥ and those that did neither of these and whom fire consumes when burning them are pitaṛaḥ Agniḍvāttāḥ—these are the only ones that are pitaraḥ. Pitṛ-s were supposed to partake of the character of gods. They were invoked with affection and regard for conferring various boons and favour, as noted in RV., X.14.6 prayer for their goodwill (Sumati)

and favour (saumanasa). The ṛc[394] is also another prayer for protection and wealth.

It is interesting to note that in the Vedic period people believed that the spirit of the dead man became a pitṛ immediately after the disposal of his corpse and that he enjoyed the share of the sacrifice known as 'piṇḍa-pitṛ-Yajña'. But towards the end of the Vedic age, as reflected in the Gṛhyasūtras the above belief was changed to the effect that a man becomes a preta immediately after his death, to be upgraded to the state of a pitṛ, usually after a year when in the intervening period some rituals have to be done in the style of some monthly ceremonies known as Ekoddiṣṭa-s and the sapiṇḍīkaraṇam. When raised to the rank of a pitṛ one becomes a sharer in the Pārvaṇa-śrāddha which owes definitely its origin to the piṇḍapitṛyajña, both śrauta and Gṛhya. The Gṛhyasūtras indicate that one's soul becomes a pitṛ through the intermediate stage of a preta. In the Gṛhya form of the piṇḍapitṛyajña the feeding of brāhmaṇas is introduced, whereas in its śrauta form we find no injunction for brahmin-feeding. The rituals of a śrāddha were evolved in three consecutive stages—(i) agnaukaraṇa or the throwing of the sacrificial materials into the fire—pitṛyajña of the Ṛgvedic age; (ii) the offering of lump (piṇḍadāna), as enjoined in Yajurveda, Brāhmaṇas and Śrauta works; (iii) in the last stage of Gṛhyasūtras and Purāṇa-s the feeding of the brahmins formed an essential part of the śrāddha.

Funeral Rite :

From the ṚV.[395] we learn the following practices of the last rite which was either burial or cremation, as shown above. A goat or a cow was burnt with the dead body which was covered with the hide, fat and narrow of either of the two, so that the dead body would not be burnt to ashes and would be free from pain of burning. The sacrificial implements of the person who performed somayāga were also burnt with his dead body. Agni was invoked to carry the dead man to the realm of Yama and Pūṣan, Vāyu, Agni, and Savitṛ were also

invoked to shift the dead into world of Pitṛ-s. The AV[396] shows the prayer : "May the organ of vision proceed to the Sun, may the vital air merge in the atmosphere ; mayst thou proceed, according to the virtuous deeds to heaven or earth or the regions of water, whichever place is beneficial to thee, mayst thou there, provided with food, exist in corporeal existence." Here we note the earnest prayer of the survivors of the dead man for his or her future felicity. A lump of earth was raised between the house of the dead and the cemetry to serve as a barrier between the village and the god of death. A circle of stones was also erected for the protection of the survivors. Dhātṛ was invoked for protecting the survivors, so that the younger one died not abandon the elder relative. The followers of the dead body, after cremation, returned to their houses in a procession. Women having worthy husbands were asked to proceed first to their houses. Some one asked the wife of the deadman lying by the side of her dead husband to rise and follow the procession with the mantra meaning "Rise, woman and go to the world of the living ; you lie down near one (Your husband) who is lifeless, come."

Besides these, something more about the funeral rite we gather from the AV. The AV.[397] mentions the different processes of disposal of the dead body, burial, scattering, cremation and setting up (uddhita) of the dead body, i.e., exposure on something elevated. Vaiśvānara was worshipped with oblation for supporting father, grandfather and great-grandfather. The Fathers were invited to attend the sacrifice known as piṇḍapitṛyajña and sit on varhis on the south and invoked to assign life, time, progeny and wealth. The dead body was covered with a new garment and the staff was taken from its hand. The wife was to lie down by the side of her dead husband, choosing to follow him in the next world. Grains with sesame, rich in svadha were scattered on the corpse. A funeral pile was built and fires were addressed on different sides. Indra, Dhātā, Aditi and Soma were invoked for protecting the dead. Yama was offered oblation and Maruts were prayed for carrying the departed soul up and Agni was invoked to bring the fathers to accept the oblation. Cakes and grains mixed with sesamum were placed on bones and vessels

with food were buried under bricks, along with the remains of the dead body.

The ŚB.[398] gives us first the view of the preceptor Nākamaudgalya that when a sacrificer is about to die, one should take up two fires in the churning sticks and having churned a new fire, one should offer the Agnihotra sacrifice. And when a sacrificer dies, one should build a pile for him in the midst of fires and get him burnt thereby. Next we have the view of the author of the ŚB. that one should place three pots with dried cowdung or straw placed within separately on three fires and the straw placed within and the Agnihotrin would be burnt by the fires produced thereby. The corpse should be washed inside and out, and purified by anointing it with clarified butter. Seven chips of gold should be put in seven seats of his vital airs. Then the dead body would be placed on a black antelope skin with hairs upwards and neckpart eastward, spread upon the funeral pile, with the sacrificial implements placed on different parts of the body. Thus the sacrificer is believed to have passed on to heaven or the other world with the grace of fire-god. Stone or earthen vessels of the deceased might have been presented to a brahmin or thrown into the water. Last of all, Agni is offered with the prayer : "From out of him, O Agni, thou art born, from out of thee let him be born again into the heavenly world, hail."[399] It is worth mentioning that Tair. Āra. (VI) prescribes the mantras for the funeral rite systematically in consecutive order. The ŚB[400] refers to the exposure of dead bodies on trees. Zimmer[401] thinks of such cases as the primitive processes of casting away or exposure of dead or disabled persons proving a burden on their family but it is more reasonable to accept these, as "abnormal cases" in the Vedic period, Dr. R. B. Pandey points out citing some hymns of AV.[402] which show how "the fathers are invited very affectionately and not remembered as cast away refuses.[403]

Let us now discuss the funeral rites, prescribed in Āśvalāyana Gṛ. S.,[404] which are still today practised by the Hindus. A cemetry (śmaśāna) must be built for the man immediately after his death. A piece of ground must be dug up the SE or SW at a place sloping towards the South or Southeast or

Southwest and it should be of the length of a man with upraised arms, of the breadth of one vyāma and of the depth of one vitasti.

It should be free on all sides and fertile in herbs, but plants with thorns and milky juice should be uprooted. It should be on a spot, a little higher than the surrounding ground from which water flows off to various sides. The hairs, the beard, the hair on the dead body and the nails are to be shaved off.[405]

Next the relations of the dead would carry the sacred fires and the sacrificial vessels to the cemetery. The dead body would be carried either by the aged persons or in a cart alongwith a cow or a she-goat of one colour, better black whose limbs would be placed covering the dead body. The corpse would be placed on the pyre, arranged between the three fires, on the sacrificial grass and a black antelop's skin with the hair outside, with its head towards the Āhavanīya fire. The wife of the deceased lying on the pile would be made to rise by the brother or some other representative or a pupil or an aged servant of the deceased person. The sacrificial implements, once used by the dead are placed on the pile. The dead body would be covered either with the limbs of the anustaraṇī animal, noted above or lumps of rice or flour. The performer of the funeral rite with his left knee bent should sacrifice ajya oblations into the Dakṣiṇāgni fire and another on the chest of the deceased. Last, the body is consumed by fire and the entire party returns, plunges in a pond and offer water to the deceased, wear new garments and enter into their homes, touching a stone, fire, cowdung, fried barley, sesamum-seeds and water. At present the persons of the funeral party bite three leaves of nimba tree, sip water and touch a branch of śamī and fire, kuśagrass, a piece of coral, clarified butter, water, cow-dung and mustard-seeds and each stands on a stone and enters his house. Obviously the modern practices owe their origin to the Gṛhyasutras.

The Kauśikasūtra (82.29-32 "Mā te mano yat-te aṅgamiti samchinotīti pacchaḥ. Prathamaṃ śirṣa-kapālāni. Paśchāt kalaśe samopya sarva-surabhichūrṇai-r-avakīryo'tthā panībhi-r-utthāpya hariṇībhir-hareyuḥ. Mā tvā vṛkṣā iti vṛkṣa-mūle

nidadhāti.") prescribes that the bones are to be collected with the hariṇī verses (AV., 18.2.11-18 and 24 & 26), then consigned to a jar over which all fragnant powders are scattered, then the jar is raised with the utthāpanī verses (Udīrṣvanāryabhi jīvalokam......ṚV., X. 18.8 and the ṛc X. 18.9, according to Śāñkha. Gṛ. S., 16.13.13) and carried with the verses called Hariṇi-s (AV., 18.2 11-18). He (the sacrificer) deposits (in the earth the urn) at the root of a tree with the verse 'mātvā......" (AV., 18.2.25) meaning "May the tree not injure thee all round, may not the wide goddess Earth also injure thee."

It is interesting to note that 'pitṛmedha' meant originally the disposal of the dead including the rite of burying the calcined bones of the dead, burnt, into the earth. But the Kātāyana Ś.S.[406] shows the use of the word only to mean collection and burial of the burnt bones of the dead. We have already discussed this rite being practised in the pre-Vedic and Vedic period, as evidenced by archaeological remains of the pre-historic days and by the ṚV., VS. and ŚB.[407] The sepulchral moouds are enjoined to be made over the bones in ŚB[408] and K.S.S. of different heights varṇawise and sexwise. Almost the same procedure is also attested by the Tait. Āraṇ[409] and the Āśva. Gṛ. S. The Āśva. Gṛ.S. prescribes the performance of a śraddha of Ekoddiṣṭa type for the deceased after throwing earth into the pit where the bones of the burnt body of the dead were put. It enjoins also the performance of this rite of gathering bones on a day after the interval of 10 days since cremation.

The Tait. Āra.[410] gives us an account of the rite of 'śānti' to be performed on the 10th day since death. Before the blood-relations seated on a bullock-hide the chief performer offers four oblations to the fire. The relations would rise up, recite a mantra before the fire, while touching a red bull and move eastward. The chief performer effaces the footmarks of the bull moving forward with the twig of a śamī tree. The Adhvaryu places stones as a wall or barrier against death for the safety of those who have gone forward. Women apply clarified butter and collerium with Kuśa-leaves which are afterwards thrown away. Last the party comes to the house of

the chief performer and feast on kid and barley. The same source enjoins the burning of an effigy made of Kuśagrass only in cases of those who die in a foreign country and hence whose bones can not be collected. The idea of burning the dead body or the bones or at least the Kuśa-puttalikā grew up in the days of the Gṛhyasūtras, as it was believed to be necessary for the release of the deceased from the preta-stage before its upgrading into the stage of the Pitṛ.

Now the question of killing an animal, a cow or a goat in the funeral rite. The Ṛgvedic evidences, noted above, shows the practice of immolation of a cow and/or a goat, to be burnt with the dead body. The AV. confirms the same fact. But the Tit. Bṛ gives us the history of the sacrificial animals and of the relation of the cake and animals offerings and thus suggests the introduction of a custom of not killing the animal in the sacrifice. The Tait. Āra.[411] (tāṃ rājagavīṃ ghnanti utsṛjànti vā) prescribes either of the two, killing or letting loose a cow. It mentions an old cow, a black one, one with black hairs and lastly, one with black hoofs as the appropriate item of offering and if any of these are wanting, a goat. The goat is to be brought, tied to the corpse with a weak string near the fire, so that it may get rid of the tie and escape. The cow is also placed with the following mantra : "Mayst thou be a source of pleasure for milk to those, just born and to be born. The cow is the mother of the Rudras, the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ādityas and the pivot of our happiness ; therefore, I solemnly say unto all wise men, 'Kill not this sacred harmless cow. Let her drink water and eat grass. Om, I let her loose." The Āśva. Gṛ. S.[412] (anustaraṇīm gāṃ Ajāṃ vaikavarṇām Kṛṣṇām-eke) also speaks of an anustaraṇī animal a cow or a she-goat of one colour, some prescribes a black one. Here the term 'eke', i.e., some shows the said animal to be optional. It[413] enjoins the kidneys of the animal to be placed on the hands of the dead body, but in case of absence of any kidney (vṛkkāpachāra ityeke), according to some, he prescribes only the offering of two lumps (of rice or flour). Here the want of a kidney (Vṛkkāpachāra) shows that the rite of burning the dead body was done even without the anustaraṇī animal,

simply with the offer of two piṇḍas. The Tait. Āra., as analysed above, seems to be more inclined towards non-killing the animal, as the cow is presented to be let loose and the goat is tied with a weak string so as to enable it to escape. It deserves mention that the anustarani animal was immolated in the earlier Vedic period only for the protection of the dead body from the scorch of fire. Oldenberg[414] also bases his view on the ṚV. (X. 16.4 & 7) that fire consumes the flesh of the cow or the goat which covers the corpse and thus spares the dead body. The ṛcs[415] show that two dogs of Yama guard the departed in the journey to the region of Pitṛs (pitṛ-loka) and we find the reference to a pair of dogs of Yama in AV and Tait. Āraṇyaka.

The ŚB records that one who accepts the stone and earthern vessels used by the dead man becomes impure and water is recommended as a purifier for those who attend the funeral rite ; and so also the tail of a bull is enjoined to be touched for the same purpose. The Tait-Āra. prescribes a prayer to Prajāpati for purification. The Āśva. Gṛ. S. recommends for purification of mourners the touch of a stone, fire, cowdung, fried barley, sesamum, seeds and water.

The word 'preta' occurs for the first time in ŚB in the sense of a deceased man and then in Āśva. Gṛ. S. It is conspicuously absent in ṚV., probably because the Ṛgvedic people believed that the departed soul attains the position of a pitṛ. But the Gṛhyasūtra-words refer to the belief that a dead person is to wait for a year in the earth where he is provided with an intermediate body and he receives all sixteen offerings and the last offering in sapiṇḍīkaraṇa elevates the departed soul to the rank of the Pitṛ-s. The Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is a gṛhya rite, as prescribed in the Śāñkhāyana Gṛ. S. where it is described : "After one year since the day of death or three fortnights or on a day when some auspicious incident takes place, this śrāddha is performed by which the dead person is received into the world of his pitṛ-s. The offerer fills four water pots with sesame, scent and water, three for the fathers and the remaining for the recently dead person and he mixes the contents of these pots, pouring the pot of the recently dead into the pots of his fathers. The term 'śrāddha'

occurs for the first time in Āśva. Gṛ. S.[416] in the sense of 'ekoddiṣṭa', i.e. offering for the departed alone after his ashes had been collected in an urn and buried.

Piṇḍa-Pitṛ-Yajña :

Now let us discuss the rites, practised in the Vedic age known as 'piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña'. It is noted above that in the early phase of Vedic culture the pitṛ-yajña was performed intending to pay worship to the departed who was then believed to be elevated to be a pitṛ, immediately after the disposal of the dead. The Ṛgvedic hymn[417] shows that the fathers were invited to partake of the offerings in general, and not an individual invitation, obviously because of the belief that the dead man attains pitṛ-status immediately after his death. The conception of 'preta' and of an 'ātivāhika' body, as found in Gṛhyasūtras and in later-post-Vedic works was foreign to the Vedic Aryans. The idea of monthly 'ekoddiṣṭa's and of 'Sapiṇḍīkaraṇa' and 'pārvaṇasrāddha' owes its origin, however, to the Vedic rites of 'pitṛ-yajña and 'piṇōapitṛyajña'. Hence the enquiry into 'piṇḍapitṛyajña' is so important as it is a Vedic rite, enjoined in the Śrautasūtras, to be performed by a priest appointed by the sacrificer. It is a part of many Vedic sacrifices, particularly of 'darśa-Pūrṇamāsa', sacrifices on New and Full-moon and it is the first step of the ancestor worship, an important feature of Hinduism, practised even today in India. The Yajurveda contains mantras for this ritual and the ŚB[418] records the details of this rite, elaborated further in the Śrautasūtras. The relevant portions from the ŚB (II. 4.2) may be quoted here from the translation of the sacred Books of the East[419] :

"When that (moon) is not seen either in the east or in the west, then he (the performer of darśa) presents (food) to them (Fathers) (once a month)...... He presents it in the afternoon...... While seated behind the Garhapatya with his face turned towards the south and the sacrificial cord on his right shoulder, he takes that (material for the offering from the cart). Thereupon he rises from thence and threshes the rice, while standing north of the Dakṣiṇa fire and facing the south. Only once he cleans (the rice) ; for it is once for

all that the fathers have passed away. He then boils it, while it stands on (the Dakṣiṇa fire) he pours some clarified butter on it. .... After removing it (from the fire) he offers to the gods two oblations in the fire...... Here he is engaged in a sacrifice to the fathers ; hence he thereby propitiates the gods and being permitted by the gods, he presents that (food) to the father...... He offers both to Agni and Soma. ...... He offers with the formulas (VS, II. 29) "To Agni, the bearer of what is meet for the wise, svāhā ; to Soma, accompanied by the fathers svāhā. He then puts the pot-ladle on the fire, that being in lieu of sviṣṭakṛt. Thereupon he draws (with the wooden sword) one line (furrow) south of the Dakṣiṇa fire, that being in lieu of altar.... He then lays down a fire brand at the father (south) end (of the line). For were he to present that (food) to the fathers without having laid down a firebrand, the Asuras and Rākṣasas would certainly tamper with it ...... He lays it down with the text (VS., II.30), "Whatsoever Asuras roam about will, assuming various shapes, be they large-bodied or small-bodied, May Agni expell them from this world.... He then takes the water pitcher and makes (the fathers) wash (their hands), merely saying "N. N. wash thyself" (naming) the sacrificer's father ; "N. N. wash thyself (Naming) the sacrificer's grand father ; "N. N. wash thyself (naming) the great grand father. As one would pour out water (for a guest) when he is about to take food, so in this case.... Now those (stalks of sacrificial grass) are severed with one stroke and cut off near the root, the top belongs to the gods, the middle part to men and the root part to the fathers. Therefore, they cut off near the root....... He spreads them (along the line) with their tops towards the south. Thereupon he presents (to the fathers) the three round cakes of rice. He presents them thus,—for to the gods they offer thus ; for men they ladle out ; and in the case of the fathers they do in this very way : therefore he presents (the cakes to them) thus...... With "N. N. this for thee !" he presents one cake to the sacrificer's father. Some add, "and for those who come after thee !, 'but let him not say this, since he himself is one of those to whom (it would be offered) in common. .... Let him therefore merely say, "N.

N., this for thee as to the sacrificer's father ; "N. N., this for thee ! as to his grandfather ; and N. N. this for thee ! as to his great grandfather. He presents (the food) in an order (directed) away from the present time, because it is away from hence that the fathers have once for all departed.

He then mutters (VS. II.31a), 'Here, O fathers, regale yourselves : like bulls come hither, each to his own share ! 'whereby he says, 'Eat yet each his own share." ..... He then turns round (to the left), so as to face the opposite (north) side : for the fathers are far away from men ; and thereby he also is far away (from the fathers). Let him remain (standing with bated breath) until his breath, fail,' say some, 'for thus far extends the vital energy'. However, having remained so far a moment...... He again turns round (to the right) and mutters (VS. II.31b). The father have regaled, themselves : like bulls they have come each to his own share ; whereby he means to say, "They have eaten each of his own share."...... Thereupon he takes the water pitcher and makes them wash themselves merely saying, "N. N., wash thyself ! (naming) the sacrificer's father ; 'N. N., wash thyself ! (naming) his grandfather ; 'N. N., wash thyself (naming) his great grandfather. Even as one would pour out (water for a guest) when he has taken his meal, so here.

He then pulls down the tuck (of the sacrificer's garment) and performs obeisance. The tuck is sacred to the fathers, therefore he performs obeisance to them after pulling down the tuck. Now obeisance means worship (or sacrifice) hence he thereby renders them worthy of worship. Six times he performs obeisance ; for this reason he performs obeisance six times. He mutters (VS., II. 32.8), 'Give us house, O fathers ! for the fathers are the guardians (iśate) of houses, and this is the prayer for blessing at this sacrificial performance. After the cakes have been put back (in the dish, containing the remains of boiled rice) he (the sacrificer) smells at (the rice) ; this (smelling) being the sacrificer's share. The (stalks of the sacrificial grass) cut with one stroke he puts on the fire ; and he also again throws away the firebrand.

Now let us scrutinise the account of 'Piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña' contained in K. Ś.S.[420] :

This sacrifice is to be done after midday of the day of the New Moon in the southern fire. The oblations should be offered by the hand of which the outer part is turned downwards and through the space between the thumb and the index-finger. Water is touched after each naming of the fathers. A pit is dug in the earth, south or west of the southern fire to drive away the Rākṣasas and Asuras. Two libations of boiled rice or butter to Soma with the fathers and to Agni, Kavyavahan are offered first. Then the fathers are directly approached at the beginning, middle and end of the pit. Water is poured and the fathers are invited to wash themselves. Next Kuśagrass is strewn over the pit and from the remains of the rice-pap and butter three or four lumps of food are laid down into the water of the pit. The fathers being father, grandfather and great-grandfather are invited by name to delight themselves. Then the offerer turns back and remains with adverted hand till he is breathless or the food is cold. He then turns to the lumps and says : "The fathers have delighted themselves', and pours out water on the lumps and adds salve and some pieces of wool or if over fifty, hair from his arm or breast and invites the father to wash, anoint and clothe themselves. If a son is desired, he may smell the remains of the pot. The fathers are worshipped. The Adhvaryu, looking south-east, pushes the lumps away and bids them depart and then he worships the Southern and Gārhapatya fires. If the wife of the sacrificer wishes a son, she would take the middle lumps and the other two lumps may be thrown into fire or water or eaten by the persons prescribed for the purpose. The K. Ś. S.[421] states that the Adhvaryu collects the piṇḍas and the householder bends down and takes the smell thereof. (Athāvajighrati pratyavadhāya piṇḍān sa Yajamānabhāgaḥ (SB., II.4.2.24). The Āśva. Ś. S.[422] insists that lumps are to be offered to those who are dead and 'homa'-offering is to be meant for those who are still alive but one must not go beyond the third generation.

Opinions vary as to the ancestors for whom piṇḍas are offered at śrāddha or Amāvāsyā. The Āśv. Ś. S.[423] indicates that three paternal ancestors are the deities of pārvaṇa-

śrāddha and none else; and they are separately the deities of śrāddha and not cumulatively. The Tait. S.[424], Tait Br.[425] Vāj. Sam.[426] and ŚB.[427] mention only the pitṛs and three paternal ancestors and not the wives of paternal ancestors and paternal ancestors of one is mother as well. But VS.[428], quoted by Kātyāyana in Śrāddhasūtra[429a] refers to paternal-ancestors and also to mothers. The Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana[429b] mentions three piṇḍas being offered to paternal ancestors and three more for mother's paternal ancestors. 'Pitāmahī' is not mentioned in Vedic literature and the wives of male ancestors came to be associated with their husbands only in the sūtra-period.

It is interesting to note that one who had not consecrated three Vedic fires must perform the piṇḍapitṛyajña on amāvāsyā, but he offered it in the Gṛhya-fire. From the Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra we find that the feeding of brāhmaṇas formed an essential feature of piṇḍapitṛyajña in the period of Gṛhyasūtras, so long unknown to the Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras; and that the rite was recommended to be performed on days with an old number in the dark fortnight.

The ŚB.[430] records the details of ritual of mahāpitṛyajña which takes place on the afternoon of the second day of the Śākamedhas, the third of the Chāturmāsyā-s. From this it is clear that mahāpitṛyajña is more complicated than piṇḍapitṛyajña and the recepients of offerings in the former are the fathers with Soma, the fathers who sit on the straw and the fathers, burned by Agni; and some say, with or without the Aṅgirās. In the rite, 'piṇḍānvahārya', without the Gṛhyarite the essential item is the feeding of brāhmaṇas, pure and versed in mantras, who are not connected with himself by consanguity or by their gotra or by the mantras, an odd number at least three. The feeding of brāhmaṇas is not enjoined in Śrauta rituals, but it is insisted on in the Gṛhyasūtras of Āśvalāyana and Pāraskara and stil later in Manu, Yājñavalkya and other smṛtis. Thus we find the rite of ancestral worship traced from the Ṛgveda down to ŚB. Gṛtyasūtras and Smṛtis. The 'antyeṣṭi', pitṛmedha, pitṛyajña, piṇḍapitṛyajña, mahāyajñas and even the daily pitṛyajña, one of five mahāyajñas are known to the Vedic literature, whereas the rites like offer-

ing pūraka lumps, ekoddiṣṭa-s, sapiṇḍīkaraṇa, Vṛddhi and pārvana-śrāddhas are traceable only in the Gṛhyasūtras, Dharmasūtras, Dharmaśāstras, Epics, Purāṇas and later digests. Even the term 'śrāddha' is unknown to Vedic works and it occurs first in the Gṛhyasūtras, though, however, the Kaṭha Upa. mentions it earlier and some take it to be an interpolation. Pāṇini uses this word (śrāddham-anena bhuktam-ini-ṭhānau) to mean one who has eaten obsequial food.

The function of 'agnaukaraṇa', referred to in the Vedic literature is the oldest element of śrāddha, to which the offering of piṇḍa was introduced later on and last of all, the feeding of brāhmaṇas was added in the Gṛhya period. In the 'agnaukaraṇa' the injunction is 'juhūyāt pitṛ-yajñavat' must be done in Dakṣiṇāgni. Others hold that Śrāddha is a gṛhya-rite and so 'agnaukaraṇa' a part of śrāddha must be performed in a Gṛhya or Aupāsana fire. However, the practice of offering into Dakṣiṇāgni seems to be older, as old as the Vedic age. According to ŚB. two offerings are to be made in a piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña, one to Agni and the other to Soma. The Ait. Bṛ. teaches us that "the Purohita is the āhavanīya fire." According to TB (Somāya Pitṛprītāya śrāddha namaḥ ityāha. . . . .Agnaye Kavyavāhanāya Svadhāhutī-r-juhoti) there must be three āhutī-s to Soma, Agni and Yama in order, ending with : 'svadhā namaḥ'. The VS. contains mantras for offering lumps to the manes in a piṇḍa-pitṛyajña. The AV. also refers to this practice. So the system of offering of rice-balls to the manes is definitely a Vedic practice. Some Gṛhya-s.[431] think that this rite is to be done before the feeding of brāhmaṇas, while according to others, after the feeding of brāhmaṇas. While offering piṇḍa, some Gṛhyasūtras enjoin that the mantra "Ye cha tvām-anu" should be uttered after "etat te' nnam". But the ŚB condemns this practice because the lamp is offered also to those who follow the deceased. Thus even the performer who is the son is asked to offer lump to his own self and even his sons and grandsons. ("Ata-ś-chasau svasmai eva piṇḍadānaṃ karotīti pratibhāti tathā chaitadamañ-galam. Ata-s-tathā na vrūyāt").

The "Aṣṭaka"-s, three on the 8th days of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa, Māgha and Phālguṇa months or according to

some, four, the fourth on the same day of Bhādra are also important Gṛhyasūtra festivals. Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra speaks of only one aṣṭaka, "Ekāṣṭaka". The Vārtikasūtra of Kātyāyana (aṣṭaka-pitṛdevatye) shows its practice as early as the sūtra-period ; and if Dr. B. N. Barua's suggestion in his "Gayā and Buddha Gayā" be accepted, the funeral ceremony known as aṣṭakā was prevalent even during the days of Buddha. Cow-killing being one of its prominent features, this ceremony was obviously associated with the Śrauta forms of animal-sacrifice and the Piṇḍa-pitṛ-yajña, already referred to. Feeding of brāhmaṇas, an essential feature of the Gṛhya cult of Śrāddha is not prescribed in this aṣṭaka form and so we may place its introduction at least in the earliest phase of Gṛhyaworks.

'Brāhmaṇa-bhojana' is prescribed in the Gṛhyasūtras as one of the main functions of 'Śrāddha.' Some Śrautasūtras mention it, no doubt but never as a part of śrāddha. It is definitely an innovation of the post-Vedic period. It has been noted that the AB mentions a 'brāhmaṇa' resembling the 'āhavanīya' fire ; and so offerings for the dead were so long in the Vedic age poured into fire which carried the food to the Pitṛ-s ; but in the post-Vedic age the brāhmaṇas occupied the status of not only the sacrificial fire but also gods. The ŚB speaks of learned brahmins as human gods. The TS states : "They are the very gods, the brāhmaṇas." Maxmuller[432] explains why the brahmins gained a lofty position in the ancient society of India, i.e., for their learning and spiritual life. In the earliest Vedic society gods were held superior to man but in the later Vedic period man and particularly brāhmaṇa-s were regarded as superior to gods. That is why Āśva. Gṛ S.[433] prescribes the feeding of four brāhmaṇas. Twenty-one sacrifices, seven Pāka, seven Havis and seven Soma end, according to Śāñkh. Gṛ. S.[434] (karmāpavarge brahmana-bhojanam), with the feeding of brahmins. The ŚB also says the same thing (Tasmāt saṃsthite yajne brāhmaṇaṃ tarpayeta vai vrūyāt yajñam-svaitat tarpayati). Hence, the tendency of feeding brahmins owes its origin even from the Vedic age.

Let us discuss whether the concept of 'ātivāhika', already noted before, as being developed from the period of the Gṛhya-sūtras was known in the earlier Vedic age. From the

Viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa, quoted by Prāyaśchitta-viveka[435] and Suddhitattva[436] we find a clear concept of it

("Tat-Kṣaṇādeva gṛhnāti sarīram-ātivāhikam/
ūrdhvaṃ vrajanti bhūtāni trinyasmāt-tasya vigrahāt//
Ātivahika-sañjño' sau deho bhavati Bhārgava/
Kevalaṃ tan-manuṣyānāṃ nānyeṣām prāṇināṃ Kvachit//
preta-piṇḍai-s-tato dattai-r-dehamapnoti Bhārgava/
bhogadeham-iti proktaṃ kramādeva na saṃśayaḥ//
preta-piṇḍā na dīyante yasyatasya vimokṣaṇam/
śmaśānikebhyo devebhyo akalpa naiva vidyate//
tatrāsya yātanā ghorāḥ śīta-vātatāpodbhavaḥ/
tataḥ sapiṇḍīkaraṇe bāndhavaiḥ sa kṛte naraḥ//
purṇe saṃ-vatsare deham-ato'nyam pratipadyate/
tataḥ sa narake yāti svargevā svena karmaṇā//

-viṣṇudharmottara-purāṇa): When a man dies, the soul or spirit assumes what is called an ātivahika body consisting of three or five elements, fire, wind and ākāśa that rise from the dead body, while the rest two, earth and water remains below. Such a body is obtained by men with the aid of piṇḍas, offered to the departed men at the end of cremation and during ten days thereafter, the soul secures another body called 'bhoga-deha', i.e., body for enjoying the piṇḍas offered ; and last, after one year when the sapiṇḍīkaraṇa is performed, the soul obtains the third body with which it reaches heaven or hell, according to his activities. This term 'ātivāhika' we find for the first time in Vedāhtasūtra[437] ("ātivāhika-s-tal-liṅgāt"), of course, in another sense. The Upaniṣads speak of so many deities who lead the soul to Brahman. The concept of the formation of an ātivāhika body, an intermediate subtle body after the destruction of the gross body of the dead by cremation, burial or any other way lies implicity in the Ṛgveda[438] which may be quoted here first and then translated :

"ye Agnidagdhā ye anagnidagdhā—
madhye divaḥ svadhayā mādayante/
tebhiḥ svarāḍasunītim-etām—
yathāvaśaṃ tanvaṃ kalpayasva// X.15.14
Ajo bhāga-s-tapasā taṃ tapasva—
taṃ te śochi-s-tapatu taṃ te archiḥ/

yā-s-te śivā-s-tanvo jātaveda—
s-tābhi-r-vahainaṃ sukṛtām-u lokam//" X.16.4.

and

iii) "Ava sṛja puna-r-Agne Pitṛbhyo—
ya-s-ta āhuta-s-charati svadhābhiḥ/
Āyu-r-vasāna upa vetu śeṣaḥ—
saṃ-gacchatām tanvā jātavedaḥ//"—X.16.5.

Trans :—(i) (O Agni !) Resplendent along with those (pitṛ-s) who were burnt by fire, and also who were not burnt and who enjoy delight for the offerings made with svadhā in the midst of the heavens, May you arrange a body as (the deceased) desires that will inspire him to a (new) life (in heaven) !

(ii) O jātavedas, May you burn by your heat the goat that is your share ! May your flame, may your bright light burn that goat ! carry this (deceased) to the world of those who do good deeds by means of your beneficient bodies (frames). and

(iii) O Agni ! discharge again towards the pitṛ-s (this deceased)—who being offered on to you moves about as is his habit. O Jātavedas ! may he take on a (new) life and increase his offerings and be united with a new (ethereal) body. The TS[439], besides TB and ŚB., speaks of offerings to the paternal ancestors. From the above survey it is clear that offering food to the dead was in vogue as early as the Ṛgveda, as offerings were made to Vedic gods like Agni, Indra, Prajāpati and others. Priests, engaged in Vedic sacrifices were paid sacrificial fees (dakṣiṇa), but it is more likely that they were also given some share out of sacrificial food, meant for gods. Hence we may assume that though offerings were made to the dead, the brahmin priests were also given some share out of the food prepared for the dead, even in the earlier Vedic period ; and this led gradually to the practice of brahmin-feeding at Śrāddha in the later Vedic period and post-Vedic period. Therefore, Kane's[440] remark that "it need not be necessarily supposed that feeding the brāhmaṇas at śrāddha was a later idea and offering food to the dead was the original idea" is justified.

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CHAPTER III

i) *Position of Women* :

Let us discuss the position of women in the Vedic society. The institution of marriage in the Vedic literature with an advanced system of laws regulating it has already been treated in the "Vedic India, Political and Legal Institutions" of this writer. The Ṛgvedic expression[1] "jāyedastam" meaning "the wife is the hoṃe" shows the importance of women as a wife, the nucleus of the family life in this Vedic Aryan Society. It is well known to us that the Vedic society was patriarchal instead of the matriarchal society of the earlier period i.e. the period of the Indus valley culture in India when the pre-Aryans worshipped mother-goddess in the shape of icons. The Aryans however, worshipped women, real mothers as evidenced by the hymns of the ṚV., addressed to so many goddesses who generated so many gods guiding the destinies of men on earth and regulating the affairs of the entire universe. Hence let us first study these hymns in which the goddesses are sung and in which the concept of women is reflected.

Aditi is the goddess of the highest importance, the prototype of motherhood. She is represented as the mother of Mitra and Varuṇa,[2] Aryaman,[3] Rudras,[4] Ādityas, Indra and even of kings.[5] The Atharvaveda[6] and Vājasaneya saṃhitā depict her as the great mother of the devout and mistress of the ṛta. She is referred to also as sister of the Ādityas (Svasā Ādityānām) and daughter of the Vasus (duhitā vasūnām). It is interesting to note that Aditi is represented as looking after the living beings in various capacities of a mother, wife, sister and daughter. She protects men from all dangers and difficulties[8]—and releases them from all sins[9] (anāgātsvaṃ no aditiḥ kṛṇotu). The mother-goddess Aditi and Varuṇa are spoken of as releasing men from the bends of physical sufferings and moral guilt. The ṛc[10] may be quoted here to show her character as representing the entire universe and conceived of as mother, father and son : "Aditi-r-dyau-r-Aditi-r-antarīkṣam—Aditiḥ Pañchajanā Aditi-r-jātam-Aditi-r-

janitvam." (cf. Kaṭha. Upa. lv.7). Elsewhere Aditi is described as a cow which even today typifies motherhood in the ṛc.[11] (mā gām-anāgām-Aditiṃ-Vadhiṣṭa). Macdonell[12] thinks of Aditi as personifying "a pure abstraction" because the Ṛgveda gives us nothing of her physical features. Some scholars[13] have sought to equate her with the Mother goddess of the Indus Valley. The Earth has been sung of as a mother in the ṚV.[14] and AV.[15] (mātā bhumiḥ putro'haṃ pṛthivyāḥ). The shape of the nude figure on one of the Harrappa seals has been likened to the mother Goddess Earth.[16]

Ushā has been conceived of as casting her kind eyes on all the worlds (Viśvāni devī bhuvanābhi chakṣyā...... Viśvaṃ jīvam charase bodhayanti Viśvasya vācham-avidanmānayoḥ) in the Ṛgveda,[17] like a mother. She is also painted as "mother of kine" (mātā gavām) in the ṚV.,[18] obviously because she represents a matron in the family of an agricultural society and so she is often associated with cattle. She is conceived as the daughter, wife and sister in relation to Dyaus, Sūryā, Bhaga and Varuṇa respectively.[19] Elsewhere[20] (ṛtasya mātarā) the Dawn and Night (Uṣā and Rātri) as described as the radiant mothers of the cosmic order. (ṛta).

Sūryā is the typical bride. She is the daughter of the sun and wife of Soma, as noted in the ṚV.[21] Sometimes she is also painted as wife of the Aśvins whom she chose.[22]

Indrāṇī, the powerful wife of Indra typifies the women of the Aryan home who is portrayed as reigning supreme in the household.[23] (Ahaṃ ketu-r-aham mūrdhāhaṃ ugrā-vivāchanī). She is said to have fought with several cowives and destroyed them,[24] showing thereby the life of troubles in the Vedic society which gave rise to the system of polygamy.

Vāk is herself the Ṛṣi and the deity presiding over speech invoked in the ṚV.[25] She is the premieval energy of the universe. Seven rivers are personified as mother, wives and goddesses granting boons ; and these are real rivers of India ; arteries of fertility. Sarasvatī is conceived of as the best of mothers (ambitame),[26] yielding milk (payasā ṃā na ā dhak).[27]

We find a particular class of celestial women known as Apsaras. She smiles at her lover, the Gandharva[28] (apsarā jāram-upasiṣmiyāṇā). They are noted as beautiful and expert in fine arts like dance, music and frivolous play.

From the above evidences we find that the Ṛgvedic goddesses are conceived of as representing powers or virtues of the heart of women in different stations of life, though of course, gods like Indra and Varuṇa are painted as terrific and warring. Obviously the Vedic Aryans were fighting people and they had to establish themselves in the teeth of serious opposition from the non-aryans. Hence, their gods partook of their character as real Aryans. But their wives have been endowed with softer feelings of a woman.

Women's Education :

Some female seers are also said to have seen the Ṛgvedic hymns like Vasukra's wife[29] and the mother of Goupāyanas alongwith her sons, Bandhu, Subandhu, Śrutabandhu and Viprabandhu.[30] 'Indrānī',[31] Juhū,[32] Śraddhā kāmāyanī, Sarparājñī[34] and Mamatā,[35] Yamī and Ūrvaśī were also seers and speakers of some verses of the dialogue-hymns.[36] Even rivers are personified and said to have talked with the sage Viśvāmitra in the ṚV.[37] It is worth noting that the hymns of these lady Ṛṣis throw welcome light on the traditions of the period concerned and certain germs of truth of religion and philosophy. The Vāk-sūkta is a glaring example where we learn of the concept of Vāk, daughter of Ambhṛṇa who may be called the precursor of the Vadantist view of one working behind this entire universe. Hence Vāk represents a class of 'brahmavādinī-s. The Ṛgveda itself is one of the most ancient records which bespeak the poetic faculty of the sages of both sexes and particularly the Uṣā hymn is the most reputed specimen of lyrical poetry of the ancient world. The dialogue-hymns of the ṚV. are the seeds of the dramatic poetry and so these prove the ability of both sexes in dramatic performances. The Sāmavada is the source of our knowledge of music in the Vedic age. Not only priests, while engaged in Vedic sacrifices sang songs[38] (samu tvā dhībhi-r-svaran) but women also were utilised in music and dancing, as attested by Gandharvas and Apsaras like Ūrvaśī and Uṣā who is described as the dancer (nṛtūriva) opening her breast as a cow yields her udder.[39] (Adhipeśāṃsi vapate nṛtu-r-ivāpor nute vakṣa usreva varjaham). Hence it would not be wrong to think that music as

well as dancing was an important item of educational curriculum.

The Aryans had to fight with and conquer the pre-Aryans before they were well-settled in the Saptasindhu region and even when they spread in different directions in India they had to fight out their foes, as analysed in my 'Vedic India'. Hence it was imperatively necessary for them to be equipped with military training which was imparted also to the fair sex, as evidenced by the episode of Viśpalā, wife of the king Khela in the Ṛ̣V.[40] ("Charitraṃ hi verivācchedi parṇamājā Khelasya paritakmyāyām/ Sadyo jañghāmāyasīṃ Viśpalāyai dhane hite sartave pratyadhattam//). Viśpalā went to the battlefield with her husband, the King Khela but lost her leg which, however, was replaced by an iron one by the Aśvin-s, worshipped by Agastya, the royal priest. Elsewhere[41] we learn of Mudgalānī, wife of Mudgala helping her husband as driving his chariot in the battle (rathī-rabhūn Mudgalānī gaviṣṭau) and as conquering his foe and chasing him, while fleeing away. Here we find an Aryan woman closely pursuing and ultimately conquering a dāsa. The ṛc[42] (Striyo hi dāsa āyudhāni chakre.....mā karanna valā asya senāḥ) refers to women of the dāsa-class, evidently and the pre-aryans as being engaged as weapons of war and the comment—"what injuries can these weaker armies do me" proves indirectly that the number of such women-soldiers was so great that it was not unjustified for the Aryan chief to fight them. Elsewhere[43] (Nīchāvayā abhavad-Vṛtraputrendro asyā ava Vadha-r-jabhāra) we find Indra killing the mother of Vṛtra by throwing his bolt upon her and this ṛc shows how the non-aryan women tried their best to save their sons even at the battlefield. From the above survey we learn that Aryan women were trained in different branches of physical and spiritual discipline. They used to attend Vidathas, popular assemblies.[44] Even the non-Aryan women also were given military training. The AV[45] states that "by Vedic studentship a girl wins a young husband" and proves thereby that Vedic studies were open to women as well. (Brahmacharyeṇa Kanyā Yuvānaṃ Vindate patim). The cross-examination of Yajñavalkya by Gārgī[46] shows that she was a philosopher of a high order. Yājñavalkya's wife Maitreyī's words "Yenāhaṃ nāmṛtā syāṃ kin-ahaṃ tenakuryām" speak of her higher

aim of attaining immortality and she must have been a philosopher of superior calibre.

Liberty of Women :

In the Ṛgvedic society women, as surveyed above were provided with education in different branches of learning, physical, mental and military and women were given full liberty to choose their own husbands, to attend Vidatha to decide social and political problems of life and also to participate in social festivals, as reflected in the ṚV.[47] The ṛc[48] (abhipravanta samaneva yoṣāḥ Kalyānyaḥ smaya mānāso Agnim) shows how women joined the sacrifices with deep faith in Fire-god. She was shown to all present, when taken to the new home of her husband after marriage.[49] (Sumañgalī-r-iyaṃ Vadhū-r-imāṃ sameta paśyeta), hence purdah or seclusion of women in those days was out of question. Samana was, according to Pischel, "a general popular festitity" where women enjoyed themselves and where they chose their partners of life, as in case of Śyāvāśva and Vimada. They were free to enjoy the company of their lovers[50] and women moved freely in company of their children and lovers. (Te ācharantī samaneva yoṣā māteva putraṃ bibhṛtām-upasthe). This institution of samanas in the Vedic age served definitely a great social need, giving a chance to all men and women to meet together, even at night and so it is but natural that this sort of nightly assembledge resulted sometimes in moral laxities and the samana of the ṚV. might have continued as samāja during Aśoka's time and we know how Aśoka stopped the objectionable elements of 'samāja', described in Dīgha Nīkāya.[51] Women were allowed even to go to a hill for the collection of soma-plants or at least flowers, according to Sāyaṇa, for sacrificial purposes, as reflected in the ṚV.[52] The ṛc.[53] (vaśinītvaṃ vidatham-āvadāsi) shows how the bride at the time of marriage was given the hope that she would speak with steadiness and success to the popular assembly called Vidatha. Thus the women in the Vedic age took part in discussions of the democratic bodies of the period concerned.

Brothers had some control on their sisters but to a very limited extent. However, they kept watch to save their sisters

from the designs of selfish men.[54] In fact she who being well-dressed chose her mate from among men, was praised as "bhadrā"[55] in the society. The only ṛc.[56] (guhā charantī manuṣo na yoṣā sabhāvatī vidathyeva saṃ vāk) may be taken as referring to the purdah system. Here the ladle, now dipped into the ghee-pot and then taken out for pouring its contents into the sacrificial fire is compared to a man's consort, now moving in the privacy of her house and then coming out to attend a meeting in public. Here the term 'guhā' means only the inner chamber of the house and not seclusion. Otherwise all references to the liberty of women in the Ṛgveda and other parts of the Vedic literature would be meaningless. Even Yāska refers to the practice of the women going out to courts of law to establish their right of inheritance in Nirukta.[57] Besides, the ṛc.[58] (na dūtāya prahye tastha eṣa tatharāṣtram gupitaṃ kṣattriyasya) states that she (Bhahmajāyā) did not disclose herself to the herald, sent, at the well-guarded kingdom of a Kṣattriya ruler does not yield to the enemy. If this interpretation of Śāyaṇa is accepted, it is clear that the wife of Brahmā felt herself well-protected even outside, when she might have been mishandled by the herald and this fact speaks of good administration of the realm in which women could move freely without any fear of molestation. The ṛc.[59] however, speaks of the molestation of Indrāṇī by Vṛṣākapi and of Indra's coming to her rescue from the clutches of the latter. But this instance also proves indirectly that women were used to move outside, quite unguarded. However, a reverse picture of women is also available in Vedic literature. The ṚV. (VIII, 33.17) states that "the mind of women is uncontrolled." The ṛc[60] adds that "women are the weapons and army of the dasa. (striyo hi dāsa āyudhāni chakre kiṃ mā karan-navalā asya senāḥ). The Mait. S. (1.10.11) also speaks of women as falsehood. (anṛtaṃ strī anṛtaṃ vā eṣā karoti). The Tait. Sam. (VI. 5.8.2.) mentions distinctly that "women are without strength, take no dāya (portion of inheritance) and speak more weakly than even a wretched man." (Tasmāt striyo nirindriyā a-ḍāyādīr-api pāpāt puṃsa upastitaraṃ vadanti). The ŚB (XIII. 2.1.31) speaks of women as untruth ; and elsewhere (XIII.2.2.4) it refers to them as dependent—"women are sure to be attendant upon man." Hence we may assume that inspite of liberty en-

joyed by them, women were sometimes looked down upon and they had no power of inheritance, except under special circumstances and they were, after all, dependent upon men.

Morality :

Morality is the expected virtue of the Aryan-society in the Vedic age, which was led by the spiritual heads to a large extent. But as there was much freedom of intercourse between opposite sexes, cases of moral laxity are not wanting in Vedic literature. Sexual morality was normally maintained, as reflected in the episode of Ghoṣā who is depicted as completely ignorant of the sexual experience, even though she had grown old in her father's house, yearning for a covetable husband. (Na tasya vidma taduṣu pra vochata yuvā ha tad-yuvatyāḥ kṣeti yoniṣu). Indra has been described as "Ṛtapā ṛtajāḥ" in RV.[61] i.e., born of ṛta and protector of ṛta and as he is the chief of gods, protecting the people (Aryans), we may assume that under his guidance the people of both sexes kept sexual fidelity. But cases of sexual laxity are heard of in the prayer—"Dhṛtavratā Ādityā iṣirā āre mat-karta rahasū-r-ivagah"[62] in which Ādityas are invoked to remove the sin like one's who bears in secret, showing thereby the birth of illegitimate children in the society. Another ṛc[63] (vamrībhiḥ putram agruvo adānaṃ niveśanāddha-r-iva ā jabhartha) speaks of Indra as bringing from the anthill the unmarried girl's son whom ants were eating and thus it refers to the practice of casting away of the new-born baby by the erring mother for fear of social obstracism. The frequent mention of jāra in the RV. leads us to assume that women kept connection sometimes with unlawful lovers ; but it is hard to accept the view of Prof. Sarkar that "it is presumed by a domestic ritual formula in the Ṛgveda (X. 162. 5. & 6) that every married woman might have her 'Jāra' ".[64] The ṛc[65] ("jāraḥ kanīna iva chakṣadāna Ṛjrāśvaḥ śatam-ekaṃ cha meṣān") speaks of Rjrāśva who like a youthful paramour had Slain 101 rams for a she-wolf. Elsewhere[66] (pra bodhayā puroṃdhiṃ jāra ā sasatīm iva) Vāyu is invoked to come to the sacrificer like a paramour awakening his sleeping love. Agni in the ṛc.[67] (Sūryo devim-uṣasaṃ rochamānāṃ maryo na yoṣām-abhyeti paśchāt) we hear of the Sun following the dawn like a youthful human lover chasing a beautiful woman. Young women are also

referred to as wooing their lovers in the ṛc[68]—"Yoṣā jāram-iva priyam". Jāra and jāriṇī—these terms are also mentioned in other ṛcs like IX.56.3 and X.34.5. The ṛc[69] (Sakhyu rna jāmim) shows how one was censured for approaching one's friend's wife, if we take the word "jāmi" in the sense of wife, as explained by Sāyaṇa. The ṛc[70] (Abhrātaro na yoṣaṇo......gabhīram) speaks distinctly of brotherless sisters going astray and leading sinful life. Free mixing of the sexes resulted in sometimes elopement of girls by their lovers even against the will of their guardians, as reflected in the episode of Vimada and Kamadyu in the Ṛv.[71] (....kamadyuvaṃ vimadāyohathu-r-yuvam).

The Apsarasas like Ūrvaśī in the Ṛv.[72] (Yadāsumarto amṛtāsu nispṛk....) are depicted as celestial nymps coming in context of mortals like Purūravas, testifying to the existence of courtesans or even prostitutes in the Vedic society and we know how Purūravas had to suffer for temporary love with Ūrvaśī. Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya[73] has rightly remarked: "Adultery among married women was a rare instance in the Indo-Aryan society and the Babylonian type of prostitution was entirely unknown to the times of the Ṛgveda."

Incestuous Marriage :

The RV.[74] is the most outstanding evidence on such incest and so this dialogue between Yama and Yamī, twins, brother and sister deserves our attention.

"Yama and Yamī are, according to Prof. Roth, "the first human pair, the originators of the race." This concept is implied in the words of Yamī[75] "Garbhe nu nau janitā dampatī ka-r-deva-s-taṣṭvā savitā viśvarūpaḥ", i.e., "even in the womb the creator made us for husband and wife". But Prof. Muller[76] says: "There is not a single word in the Veda pointing to Yama and Yamī as the first couple of mortals." However, the AV.[77] refers to Yama as the first of men died and first departed to this (Celestial) world. Yama and Yamī are brother and sister. Yamī tries to tempt her broteher Yama to incest so that the human race may not die out. But Yama repulses her pointing out the eternal laws of the gods which forbid the union on blood relations. Here we find the attitude of the Vedic

Aryans who attached stigma to such incestuous marriage. Of course, this ṛc refers indirectly to the prevalence of such customs in earlier times. She pleads that this ban is meant for mortals ('tyajanaṃ martyasya' in v. 3) only, but the immortal beings (amṛtāsaḥ) desired such unions. Yama retorts by saying that he would not follow such practice which was not practised before (na yat purā chakṛmā), evidently implying that such incest was not practised in the Vedic period or earlier. He warns her of the sentinels of Varuṇa and refuses her proposal with the ṛc[78]—"They stand not still, they never close their eyelids, those sentinels of God who wander round us. Not me—go quickly, wanton, with another and hasten like a chariot-wheel to meet him". Yama speaks of the custom of incest between a brother and sister as sinful, declared by the people of his times (pāpamāhur-yaḥ svasāraṃ nigacchāt)[79] and asks Yamī to approach another as her husband. On his repeated refusal Yamī bursts out with the words :

"Alas ! thou art indeed a weakling, Yama ; we find in thee no trace of heart or spirit. As round the tree the woodline clings, another will cling about thee girt as with a girdle."

Thus this hymn shows that in the period of its composition the society set up a new standard of morals and declared such union between a brother and sister as sinful, even if such union was in practice in earlier days. Elsewhere in the RV.[80] (svasur-o jāra uchyate) we hear of Pūṣan as the paramour of his sister, Uṣas. Again in the RV.[81] (ya-s-tvā bhrātā patir-bhutva jāro bhūtvā nipadyate/ prajāṃ ya-s-te jighāṃsati tam-ito nāśayāmasi//) we learn that a brother approached her sister as paramour. ("What rests by thee in borrowed of brother, lover or of lord, and would destroy thy progeny, even this will we exterminate").

Similar cases of incest between brother and sister are heard of in a number of Purāṇas[82] in which we find the mention of 'pitṛ-Kanyā' in the sense of sisters. These Purāṇas in their original form must have been composed in between the period of the Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas and so they may be regarded as valuable sources for the history of the Vedic period. Prof. S. C. Sarkar[83] has also studied these Puranic evidences to establish that such incest prevailed, even before the Vedic period, among the Vedic Aryans or their ancestors. However,

he is not sure the fact whether such marriage was the result of "a strong patriarchal isolative tendency or that of an earlier matriarchal state of society among some at least of the Vedic tribes."[84] Mrs. Kharve draws our attention to such custom among the Iranians, as reflected in their mythology of Yama and Yamī. Sister-marriage was also in practice among the Semitic Egyptians and the ancient kings of Egypt always married their real sister. Dr. Pran Nath concludes that the Vedic Aryans were agnates to the Egyptians and if we accept it, the apparently unvedic and non-aryan custom of brother-sister marriage, as found in the RV., and the Purāṇas, may be easily explained. We come across the custom of Khvetvadatha,[87] a system of marriage among the kins of old Iranians, connected by the same blood ; and this custom allowed brother-sister marriage. The brother-sister marriage is also reflected in the tale of Dasaratha Jātaka which paints Sītā as the sister of Rāma. The Śākyas' origin may be traced from such marriage, practised among the Ikṣvākus, according to Buddhist tradition.[88]

The Legend of Prajāpati :

The sexual union between father and daughter in the Vedic age is evidenced by a tradition reflected in the ṚV.[89] (Pitā yat svāṃ duhitaram-adhiṣkan kṣmayā retaḥ saṃjagmāno ni ṣiṃchat) and more distinctly in the story of Ait. Br. and Śata. Br. Prajāpati's daughter was Div or Uṣas and he became an object of displeasure to gods for his sexual intercourse with his own daughter. The gods became furious because Prajāpati had done such a thing which nobody else had done and they desired his punishment. Bhutavan came into being and threw an arrow at Prajāpati.[90] The same tale is repeated in the Purāṇas[91] where Brahmā instead of Prajāpati is described as being united with his daughter Vāk or Sāvitrī. Prajāpati is the first patriarch and as a result of sexual union with daughter was created man for the first time. This tale indicates the prohibition of such sexual union in the real society even in that hoary antiquity.

Uṣas is called Yoṣā (object of love) of Sūrya.[92] (Vājinīvatī Sūryasya yoṣā) and again 'yoṣā' of Jāra (Yoṣā Jārasya),[93]

i.e., an illicit lover Sūrya. Elsewhere[94] (mātu-r-didhiṣum-avravaṃ svasu-r-jāraḥ) Pūṣan is called didhiṣu (wooer) of his mother and jāra (illicit lover) of his sister. Thus we may conceive of the illicit sexual union between mother and son or between brother and sister. According to the ṛc[95] Pūṣan accepted Aśvin-s as father and Sūryā's husbands were the twin gods 'Aśvin-s'. Hence, Sūryā may be called the artificial mother of Pūṣan and the above ṛc 'mātu-r-didhiṣum' indicates their illicit union. Pūṣan, being a manifestation of Sūrya and he being called "svasu-r-jāraḥ" we may think of the union of Pūṣan and Uṣas as the illicit union of brother and sister. However, from these mythical allusions it is hard to assess any relationship of the real society. The Vedas speak of foulplay of illicit sexual union, as noted above but they display deep love of conjugal life, not to be dissolved so easily, as in the case of Āsaṅga who became impotent but received no proposal of divorce from his wife Śaśvatī.[96] The words like jāriṇī (RV., x. 34. 5), sādhāraṇī (ṚV., 1.167.4), mahānaganī (AV. xx, 136.9), Puṃśchalī (AV. xv. 2.5) and Puṃśchalū (TB, 3.4.1)) indicate definite evidence of the system of courtesanship and thus of the play of illicit love in the society. We learn that the sacrificer's wife had to confess the illicit love of hers, if any, in the Varuṇapraghāsa, Oṇe of the Chāturmāsyas, a vedic sacrifice to be performed with the offering of oblation of ghee etc. (havi-r-yajña) for the welfare of the family. The wife of the sacrificer answered symbolically with the number of grasses to denote the number of such illicit lovers. This confession was definitely meant for the expiation of sins she had committed thereby and thus it indicates its moral value.[97] The statement of Jābālā[98] that Satyakāma's gotra is not known to her shows that he was born of sexual union without marriage.

Religions Right of Women :

Women were looked upon as untouchable during her period of menstruation in the Vedic age and this concept grew up even in the Indo-Iranian period, as evidenced by the Vendidad (6). The TS (II.5.1.5-7) refers to their temporary impurity of women as the effect of their taking over

from Indra one-third of the sin he had incurred by murdering the brahmin Vṛtra. Women were practically segregated during this period, obviously for complete rest, imperatively necessary. They were also regarded as impure during the period of confinement after delivery. Contact of wife with her husband during these periods was believed to be of evil consequences and harmful to her husband. The ṚV. (X.85.44 "aghora-chakṣu-r-apatighanī edhi) speaks of the prayer that the bride should not be the cause of her husband's death. Another verse of the same hymn (X.85.29—"Kṛtyaiṣā...... patim") refers to the belief that a female spirit takes possession of the bride and causes injuries to her husband. Otherwise women were regarded as fit for ṛeligious rites, as good as man. Women's right of performing sacrifices is implied in the ṛcs (VIII.91.1—"Kanyā Vāravāyatī....Śakrāya sunavai tvā and V. 28.1—"Eti Prāchī Viśvavārā....ghṛtāchī). Without wife a man is unfit for sacrifice, as reflected in AB (1.2.5) and ŚB (V. 1.6.1.10). The ṛc. (1.72.5—"Saṃjānānā...... patnīvanto namasyaṃ namasyan) refers to joint worship of gods. The ŚB (VI. 5.3.1, III. 8.2.1-6) mentions distinctly the role of a wife in the sacrifices jointly with her husband. Indrānī is said to have started some rites in the ṛc (X.36.10) and if a goddess is believed to have been fashioned after the human model we may assume that Women might have contributed a reasonable share in the field of religious worship. We have already pointed out that women were given fair chance to be properly educated in Vedic studies after being initiated (upanīta) like men. The concept grew up in the post vedic period that a slight mistake in the recitation of a Vedic mantra would bring about a calamity to the reciter, obviously because the Vedic Sanskrit was gradually replaced by numerous dialects and it was admitted that in sacrifices Vedic mantras were required to be properly recited (Pāṇiniśikṣā, 52). The ŚB (1.1.4.13) shows that "in former times it was no other than the wife (of the sacrificer) who rose at this (call), to act as Haviṣkṛt," but "at the time when the Adhvaryu calls the Haviṣkṛt, one of the priests beats the two mill-stones." Such cases of differences between the ritualistic practices of the present time and those of former times might have been due to gradual development of the sacrificial cere-

monial which required the performances only by those who had read the Vedic texts and mastered the minutest details of the rituals very carefully. Thus the role of women in sacrifices was replaced by that of men, expert in the subject in the later Vedic age. The rise of a new theory that women are debarred from vedic sacrifices is reflected in the text of the Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā (1.1.2.2), but Jaimini, the advocate of the orthodox school concludes in favour of the joint-worship of the husband and the wife.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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CHAPTER—IV

(i) *Family life* :

The ṚV[1] (piteva kitavaṃ śaśāsa) refers to a father chastising his son for gambling and thus shows how the father as head of the patriarchal family was interested in his son's welfare. Inspite of cases of Ṛjrāśva, blinded by his father and of Śunaḥśepa in AB., definitely rare cases, the father of the Vedic family may be said to have controlled all members, of course, with a tie of love and affection. The ṛc[2] (Sa naḥ piteva sunave' gne sūpāyano bhava) indicates clearly the father's favours showered upon his son.

Ancestor worship was an important feature of Vedic culture. The ancestors who received worship were communal and not those of individual families. The ṚV.[3] shows how these fathers pursuaded Agastya to marry, obviously for return of oblations from their descendants. The AV[4] speaks of "svadhā", meant for one's great-grandfather, grandfather and father. Elsewhere[5] we find the mention of blessing, showered over the newly-wed bride, of "sporting with sons and grandsons" and attaining supremacy in the house among parents-in-law, brothers-in-laws and sisters-in-law. The AB[6] mentions the term 'naptri', a great-grandson. 'Pautrāyana' is also found in Ch. Upa.[7] in the sense of a great-grandson with reference to Janaśruti Pautrāyana. Hence the Vedic family may be taken to have been a working unit of four generations.

(ii) *Individual family* :

The term 'dampatī' is found in the ṚV.[8] The ṛc[9] (yā dampatī samanasā sunuta ā cha dhāvataḥ) shows how the husband and wife extract soma juice with one-mindedness. Viśvavāra,[10] daughter of the sage Atri prayed to Agni for the well-controlled conjugal life. Some ṛcs display the picture of a small family grown out of monogamy ; the dialogue[11] between Agastya and Lopamudra shows how Agastya wanted to impress upon Lopamudrā that they can enjoy life, if they

led a controlled conjugal life. Monogamous life is also reflected in the ṛc-s.[12] The ṛc[13] shows through the utterances of the wife of Vasukra and Indra that Vasukra built an independent family with his wife, apart from his father. Another picture of a family life, of course, tinged with a quarrelling attitude is also reflected in the talks of Indra, Indra's wife Indrānī and his son Vṛṣākapi.[14] Monogamy prevailed also in some of the royal families, at least in case of Purukutsa. The ṛc[15] shows how Purukutsānī secured a son named Trasadasyu through the grace of India and Varuṇa. The very name of Purukutsānī suggests the influence of her husband Purukutsa over the wife. Some other names like Varuṇānī, Indrāṇī and Agnāyī equally suggest the same state of things even in the houses of gods. The AB.[16] speaks of Prāsahā, the most favourite wife of Indra (Vāvātā), indicating thereby the polygamy in the Vedic society, at least among kings. 'Ka' is the Prajāpati and he is the father-in-law of Prāsahā. The ancedote of throwing a bunch of grass into the army of the hostile party with the mantra 'Prāsahe ka-stvā paśyati' shows how a daughter-in-law was not allowed to see the face of her father-in-law. The ṛc[17] (Kuvit pati-dviṣo. . . . . .) shows that Apālā, daughter of Atri was deserted by her husband for leprosy and that she was cured of the disease through the grace of Indra.

(iii) *Personal House* :

The RV.[18] (Sūrye Viṣamā sajāmi dṛtim surāvato gṛhe) shows the existence of the house of one who prepared wine. (Surā-nirmātṛ-sadane, according to Sāyaṇa). The TS.[19] states the offering of oblations to different deities in different houses—to Bṛhaspati in the house of Brahman (priest), to Indra in the house of a rājanya, to Āditya in the house of the chief wife, to Nirṛti in that of the neglected wife, to Agni in that of the leader of the host, to Varuṇa in that of the minstrel, to Maruts in that of the village headman, to Savitṛ in that of the carver, to Aśvins in that of the charioteer, to Pūṣan in that of the divider (collector of revenue, according to Sāyaṇa) and to Rudra in that of the thrower of the dice. It is interesting to note that the separate houses of the chief queen and of the neglected queen, as noted here, indicate that in the Vedic

family of polygamy each wife was provided with an individual house. Mention may be made of the fact that normally a house consisted of four rooms, havi-r-dhāna (=oblation-holder), agniśāla (fireplace), **patnīnāṃ** sadana (wives' room) and the sadas (sitting room).

In the Vedic age each individual family had its own individual house and the big house of a joint family was provided with small rooms to be used by different members living under the same roof, each room separately for the married couple. The accommodation of such a big joint family may be reflected in the ṛc.[20] (Bṛhantaṃ mānaṃ Varuṇa svadhā'vaḥ sahasradvāraṃ jagamā gṛham te) which speaks of a big mansion of Varuṇa with a thousand doors.

The Vedic Aryan family is conspicuous for its three characteristics :

(i) The son and wife were known by the name of father and husband respectively, as for example, Tvasdasyu was known as Paurukutsi,[21] son of Purukutsa and Bhārata, son of Bharata ; and Purukutsānī[23] wife of Purukutsa and Mudgalānī. (ii) Patriarchal family concentrated in the father's house, as evidenced by the ṛc[24] (Ghoṣāyai chit-pitṛṣade duroṇe patīṃ jūryantyā Aśvināvadattam) stating that Ghoṣā lived in her father's house till her marriage in ripe old age and (iii) inheritance by paternal line.

In the Vedic family labour was divided between males and females in daily domestic life, as reflected in the ṛcs. noted here. The ṛc[25] (.....vastrā putrāya mātaro vayanti) speaks that mothers weave clothes for their sons. The ṛc.[26] (.... upala-prakṣaṇī nanā) states that the mother (or daughter, according to Sāyaṇa) grinds corn (barley) in grindstones ; and the ṛc.[27] (....udakaṃ Kumbhinī-r-iva) states that the girls having pitcher carry water by pitchers. The ṛc[28] (sīvyatvapaḥ sūchyācchidyamānayā) means that Rākā was used to sewing by needless and thus implies that females were conversant with the art of embroidery.

The newly-wed bride was given the blessing to be mother of heroic sons (vīrasū[29]) and for leading a united life permanently without any separation and enjoying the pleasures of life with sons and grandsons[30] and also for gaining ten sons

(daśāyāṃ putrānā dhehi).[31] This evidence leads us to realise the aims and aspirations of a married life and also the position of the wife in the family. Sons and cattle constituted the wealth of the family in the early Vedic age when the Aryans led a pastoral-cum-agricultural life. Even the servants were regarded as part of the family's property.

(iv) *Wife*: It has already been noted that both the husband and wife took interest in sacrifices (vītihotrā) and offered meals to gods with a view to attain immortality (daśasyantāmṛtāya kaṃ) in both the senses, worldly and spiritually. The wife's role in the domestic life has also been pointed out. In the ṛc.[32] ("jāyeva Yonāvaraṃ viśvasmai") we find the attitude of the Vedic Ṛṣi to one's wife as being an ornament of the house as a result of her care and love towards all. The wife's conjugal fidelity, love and loyalty to her husband, no anger in spite of extreme suffering—all these are exhibited in the gambler's hymn.[33] However, she had the liberty to attend Vidatha and she expressed her individuality by raising her voice against the failings of her husband as shown in the RV.[34] where we find that the wife Śaśvatī was discontented with her husband's invalidity and she congratulated upon his restoration to strength and manhood. (subhadram-arya bhojanaṃ bibharṣi).

From the spirit of Vedic culture we learn that both the husband and wife (dampatī) would be the joint owners of the household and its property. The husband would assure his wife at the time of marriage that he would never transgress the rights and economic interests of his wife. On the basis of this theory of joint ownership in the Vedic age Āpas. D.S.[35] holds that the wife had the right to spend for the needs of the household and make gifts during her husband's absence. (pāṇigrahaṇāddhi sahatvaṃ karmasu .... dravya-parigrahesu cha. Na hibhartu-r-vipravāse naimittike dāne steyamupadiśanti."). The right of inheritance of both the males and females in the Vedic period has been treated in my 'Vedic India'. The TS.[36] (Patnī vai pārīṇāhyasya īśe") shows that the wife became the owner of the wedding gifts, known by the term 'pāriṇāhya', consisting of clothes and ornaments. Of course, we know nothing about the fact whether the wives could dispose of these

articles without the consent of their husbands. The Vedic literature is practically silent about the nature of 'strī-dhana'. In a patriarchal society of Vedic Aryans son alone could inherit the father's property after death or by partition, made by the aged father. (Pitu-r-na jibre-r-viveda bharanta).[37] Here we know nothing about the possible share given to his wife or his own share being reserved for the widow after his death, if she chooses not to remarry. The TS.[38] (Tasmāt striyo nirindriyā adāyādīḥ) states that women have no right of inheritance. The daughter's position and power of inheritance, already treated in my 'Vedic India' need not be repeated here; to sum up which it may be noted here that the ṚV.[39] and the AV.[40] show that a brotherless daughter was entitled to inherit her partimony and sometime an unmarried daughter lived in her father's house throughout her life[41] (amājūḥ). The widows being sometimes remarried and blessed with sons, the question of giving them a share of their dead husband's property did not arise at all. We may infer that widows alone preferring a life of celibacy and without sons would have had some right to her husband's property for maintenance. Yājñavalkya[42] had, however, expressed his desire to divide his property between his two wives, when he was about to renounce the world. (Bṛh. Upa.). The ṛc[43] speaks of Śaśīyasī giving away much wealth as presents but we are in the dark about the real right assigned to her as wife or simply a concession granted to the wife by her husband out of love.

The use of wife as chattel is reflected in the ṚV.[44] which shows that the wife was actually staked as a chattel and lost. But the hymn contains the advice to such gambler with a note of disapproval of this practice. Dr. Altekar[45] has remarked: "In India too in very early times women were regarded as chattel. They were given away as gifts in the Vedic age, as would appear from several hymns, which gratify the gifts of generous donors." The hymn[46] he has cited contains the term 'Vadhūmanto.' Kakṣīvant celebrates here the prince Svanaya Bhāvya as having bestowed ten chariots containing 'Vadhū's upon him. But the question arises: "who were these Vadhū-s, free women or non-aryan girls enslaved?" Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya is justified to observe that "the reference to Vadhū-s in Dr. Altekar's citation is to slave-girls who were

the spoils of war.[47] Non-aryan women went to battlefields, already noted before, and it is reasonable to infer that the Aryans came in possession of numerous girls and widows of non-aryan enemies, whom they had conquered and it is more likely that these girls or widows were gifted to Ṛṣis or priests, as evidenced by the ṛc.[48] ("Adān me Paurukutsyaḥ pañcha-śataṃ Trasadasyu-r-vadhūnām") in which Trasadasyu is highly praised for the gift of fifty vadhū-s. The term 'Vadhū' means a bride, whether married or about to be married and we may take this term used in the sense of captured girls or widows of the non-aryan foes who were accepted by the Aryans as wives and absorbed in the Aryan society. The Aryan woman was normally held in high esteem, as evidenced by the ṛc.[49] (Yasyānakṣā duhitā'jātvāsa ka-s-tāṃ Vidvā abhimanyāte an-dhām) which shows how even a blind girl was taken in marriage knowingly with much love and sympathy. The earlier Vedic period witnessed the transition from the communal to the family-ownership of land. The period being still full of wars between Aryans and non-aryans and not yet enjoying the blessings of peace, the Aryan patriarch alone was regarded as the sole owner of the estate ; and the concept of rights of the different members of the family, not even of males was yet to crystalise. But in the later Vedic period when the Aryans took to settled life with agriculture and other pursuits, women took an active part in these economic productions and hence they had their status definitely improved in the society. But the introduction of non-aryan women into the Aryan household led gradually to the deterioration of position of women remarkably in the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.

(v) *Widow* : Let us discuss the position of widow in the Vedic society. The treatment of a widow is an index to the character of the culture of the society. Hence we must enquire into different questions whether she was compelled to immolate herself on the funeral pyre of her husband or she was allowed to survive and marry, if she so desired and if she could inherit the property for her maintenance with honour in the society.

While discussing widowhood in the earlier treatise "Vedic India, Political and Legal Institutions in Vedic Literature"[50]

it has been shown that "widow-burning was a defunct custom in the early Vedic period" and that according to some scholars, "she was redeemed by the 'devara' or other near relations. But the Vedic text is completely silent about the devara. The Āśva. Gṛ. S. tells us that "the widow lying by the side of her dead husband is to be taken by the husband's pupil or devara or a servant of the house to the house." "Some scholar thinks that the ṛc (X.40.2) refers to widow-remarriage" but this text does not "clearly refer to remarriage of widows but forms the basis of the later system of niyoga." But the silence of any Vedic ritual appropriate to niyoga indicates that "niyoga was conspicuously absent as in institution in the Vedic period." However, the question of remarriage of widows needs further scrutiny of the Vedic texts. Prof. Altekar[51] has shown that "the custom of the sacrifice of the widow at the funeral pyre of her husband was widely prevailing in ancient times..... The fact that it was practised among the Gauls, the Goths, the Norweigians, the Celts, the Slaves and the Thracians would justify the inference that it was probably well established among the Indo-Europeans." The discovery of the effigy of the queen along with those of slaves and servants arranged in the vaults of the huge structures by the side of the royal mummy in Egypt shows the practice of widow-sacrifice during the age of the Pyramids. The same practice is also confirmed by the skeletons of asses, maids and servants of the queen and of the queen, unearthed from the tombs at Ur, the ancient town of Sumer. People thought in those days that they would require the things necessary for this life in their next life and wife, being the dearest object of life she was required to be buried or burnt alongwith the husband, alongwith his clothes, bows, arrows, and horses, necessaries of the warrior's life. Hence, it is reasonable to assume that the Aryans followed this practice of sacrificing the wife at the husband's death in the IE Period. But it is not unlikely that the Vedic Aryans, while penetrating into India, stopped this old practice. Nor do we find any mention of it in the Avesta. The existence of widows in the society is proved by some vedic passages. The ṛc.[52] (Yuvaṃ ha kṛśaṃ yuvam-aśvinā śayuṃ yuvaṃ vidhantaṃ vidhavām-uruṣyathaḥ) mentions distinctly the widows to be protected by the Aśvins. Elsewhere[53] (Ka-s-te mātaraṃ vidha-

vām-achakrauchayuṃ......) we hear of the mother of Indra, made a widow. The ṛc[54] (Imā nārī-r-avidhavā......janayo Yonim-agre) also proves indirectly the existence of widows in the society. It may be noted here that the above text has been fraudulently changed into 'Yonim-agre', only to support the idea of 'satī'; but Ramesh Chandra Dutt and others have pointed out its real meaning. R. G. Bhandarkar also says that the satī system was once in practice among the non-aryans in ancient times in Europe and Western Asia; and that this had been introduced into the Aryan society in India, as a result of their fusion with non-aryans.[55] The AV.[56] (Iyaṃ nārī patilokaṃ vṛnāna......dharmaṃ purāṇamamupālayanti) shows clearly that this custom was in practice only in by gone times. But both the ṚV. and AV. are silent about any satī-practice in these verses concerned. Śaṅkara did not find any Vedic text suitable to support the satī practice and he had quoted the text of the smṛti instead in its support, "Smaryate hi, bhartāramuddharennāri praviṣṭā saha pāvakam".

The above ṛc[57] speaks of widows indirectely, no doubt, but it directly speaks of the procession of women living with their husbands, asked to enter their own houses first after being adorned, tearless and free from sorrow. There is nothing here to show the immolation of the widow on her husband's pyre. This ṛc makes a distinction between a widow and a woman with her husband living, the former being segregated from any auspicious ceremony, as found even today.

Some scholar argues that the prevalence of the satī custom is reflected in the Nārāyaṇīya Tait. Upa.[58] (Agne Vratānāṃ vratapati-r-asi patyanugamana-vrataṃ kariṣyāmi tacchakeyam tanme rādhyatam) where the widow prays for capacity to bear the ordeal and reap the promised reward. But this Upaniṣadic text is a later work and so nothing can be deduced from it regarding such ritual in the Vedic age. The AV. noted above also shows the formalities of Satī system being observed only as a reminiscent of the once-used custom, then obsolete. It ends in the prayer that the widow may lead a prosperous life with fresh children and wealth (prajāṃ draviṇaṃ cha ha dhatta(. Thus this text is more inclined towards remarriage than sacrifice of widows. The next verse of the ṚV.[59] (Udīrṣva nāryabhi jīvalokam......) makes it further

clear that the widow is invited to rise up from the funeral pyre and come back to the world of the living. The text may be quoted in translation : "Rise, come unto the world of life. O woman, come, he is lifeless by whose side thou liest. Wifehood with this thy husband was thy portion, who took thy hand and wooed thee as a lover.'

Now the question is, what was the fate of a widow after her return from the cremation ground? Some of them might have lived a life of widow, as evidenced by the ṛcs., noted above, others might have had some children by levirate (niyoga) and by a regular remarriage. The Aryans required sons more and more, only to enable themselves to fight successfully with the non-Aryans and so in the Vedic period they preferred to utilise the widows for producing sons and not to leave them barren during the remaining period of their lives. In the eye of the Vedic Ṛṣis the adopted son is no son at all (naśeṣo Agne anya-jātamasti),[60] evidently because he is completely a stranger and he has no blood of the family. Hence it is not unreasonable to suppose that the system of niyoga was preferred because a son, born by niyoga resembles a real son to a large extent, as he has the blood of the mother. This custom was fairly old, as evidenced by the Mahābhārata[61] which states that "if a woman loses her husband, she marries her brother-in-law." However, it has been pointed out in my earlier treatise, "Vedic India"[62] that niyoga was conspicuously absent as an institution in the Vedic period. But some evidences from the Vedic literature show that though not established as an institution and solemnised by any ritual, the Vedic Aryans took to this method to meet the end of begetting of more children. The term 'niyoga' is definitely of a later origin but we may cite some cases of its practice as early as the Ṛgvedic period. The ṛc[63] :

"Asmākam-atra pitara-s-ta āsan
sapta-ṛṣayo daurgahe Vadhyamāne/
ta āyajanta Trasadasyum-asyā
Indram-na Vṛtraturam-ardhavenam.//"

states that Purukutasānī obtained a son, Trasadasyu when her husband Purukutsa was captured or killed, as a gift of Indra

and Varuṇa and as directed by seven Ṛṣis. The ṛc[64] mentions Vadhrimatī, daughter of a king who had her husband impotent but secured a son as a gift of the twin gods Aśvinas. The ṛc.[65] (Hastagrābhasya didhiṣoh......) may be cited as a case of niyoga or re-marriage in which the wife is asked to rise and come back to the living world but it is hard to establish that she was approached by her brother-in-law, as suggested by some. The term 'devara' is not mentioned here. The only place where it occurs distinctly is in Āśva. Gṛ. S. The ṛc.[66] mentions the bride, even at the time of marriage when it is uncertain to determine whether her husband is impotent, as desired to be 'Vīrasū-r-devakāmā', obviously as 'devṛkāmā,' as suggested by some. Thus in the period of the ṚV. a woman was desired to be the mother of a heroic son and she was the favourite of her brother-in-law. Thus we may assume that a brother-in-law or any other near relative came to the rescue of the widow and procreated children in her either by niyoga or by real marriage. The next verse[67]: "Dhanu-r-hastād-ādadāno mṛtasyāsme kṣattrāya varchase valāya/ atraiva tvamiha vayaṃ suvīrā viśvāḥ spṛdho abhimātī-r-jayema//" helps us to understand the real position. The brother-in-law or any other near relation takes the bow from the hand of the deceased and remarks: "From his dead hand I take the bow he carried so that it would add to our power, with noble heroes may we overcome all foes who fight against us." The Ṛgvedic period was the most troublesome one for constant danger of war against the non-aryans and hence it was quite natural for a Kṣattriya's brother or near relative to take out the bow from his dead brother only to create confidence among his own people and to accept the wife of the elder brother as his own to procreate heroic sons for increasing strength of his own group. The procession of unwidowed dames, as noted in the ṛc shows that there was no other nuptial ceremony required for the purpose of second marriage of the widow concerned. The AV. refers to 'punarbhū-s, i.e. widows remarried.

It is really preposterous to think that the verse (ṚV. X.18.8) is taken in the sense of a proposal for remarriage of the wife of the deceased, when she was lying by the side of his funeral pyre. Really it is inhuman. But the Tait. Āraṇ[68] and later on Sāyaṇa explains the verse in the light of proposal

of marriage. The AV.[69] (Yā pūrvaṃ patiṃ hitvā anyānyaṃ vindate patim......) clearly refers to remarriage of a woman and prescribes a ritual to get the union of the new couple in heaven. It, however, does not suggest that the widow could marry only her brother-in-law. From the above survey we may say that widows were utilised either by niyoga or by marriage to procreate sons ; and it is more likely that niyoga was preferred to remarriage of a widow. The ṛc[70] (Ko vāṃ śayutrā vidhaveva devaraṃ) suggests the greater possibility of niyoga than of remarriage. Sāyaṇa has quoted the text from Āśva. Gṛ. S.[71] while commenting on the ṛc (X.18.8) and explained the second half of the ṛc as a case of proposal for remarriage of the widow preferably by her brother-in-law. Even if we accept it, we find nothing disreputable in such marriage of a widow in the Ṛgvedic Society. The Ṛgvedic Aryans were mainly military in character and even gay and optimistic and they were accustomed to fighting and partings by death. Hence it was more natural for them to face deaths or accidents more lightly and invite the widow even at such sad occasion to be married again, only aiming at further procreation of sons. The ṛc (Prāñcho agāma nṛtāye hasāya drāghīya āyuḥ prataraṃ dadhānaḥ) states clearly that the Ṛgvedic Aryan prays for the welfare of the last rite (abhūd-bhadrā Devahūti-r-no adya) of cremation or burial and that the survivors attend this ceremony "for dancing and for laughter."

vi) *Brother* : Bhrātṛ, designation of brother corresponding to Greek phrater and Latin frater is derived from 'bhṛ' (=to support) and is used in Vedic literature in the sense of a support of his sister when bereft of her father. The authors of the Vedic Index suggest rightly that a brotherless sister used to meet an evil fate" (II, p. 113). A brother offered presents to his sister or her husband. The RV[72] (Na Jāmaye tānvo riktham-āraik......) states clearly that the brother did not give any share to the patrimony to his sister but he gave her in marriage to her husband, after decorating her with dress and ornaments ,anya ṛndhan). The AV.[73] also refers to a brother's fear "from inprecation of sisters." The equal status of a son and a daughter is proved by the ṛc

(aṅgād-aṅgāt saṃbhavasi) and a verse containing the teaching of Svāyambhūva Manu and Yāska, while explaining the ṛc,,[74] declares emphatically that both the son and the daughter are equally entitled to inherit the property of their father. But it is interesting to note that Yāska does not forget to mention the rival theories : i) daughters are not heirs to patrimony, ii) brotherless daughters alone are entitled to inherit patrimony.[76] Yāska speaks of 'putrikā-karaṇa' of a brotherless daughter and that is why in the Vedic age she was regarded as unfit for marriage.[76] The question or inheritance, of a daughter in the Vedic age has been discussed in detail in my earlier treatise, Vedic India, pp. 301 f., which need not be repeated here. While explaining the ṛc.[77] Yāska says that a brotherless sister goes towards men, i.e., parental ancestors, to render the duties of offspring and to offer the funeral cake, but not to her husband. (abhrātṛkeva puṃsaḥ pitṛnetyabhimukhī santānakaramaṇe piṇḍadānāya na patim. . . . . .).

The brother-sister marriage, as reflected in the dialogue of Yama-Yamī, has been discussed above. The learned authors of Vedic Index[78] point out that on the basis of a passage in ŚB.[79] such corss-cousin marriage was sanctioned in the third or fourth generation without reference to the maternal or paternal side.

vii) *Sister* : The sister was closely related to her brother, she being dependent on him and his wife, as reflected in RV.[80] and the AB.[81] when she had lost her father or her father was feeble. The ṛc[82] (Aśravam hi bhūridāvattarā. . . . vā ghā syālāt) shows that the wife's brother was of bounteous nature to one or one's wife. Yāska says that the term 'Syāla' is so called, because he offers parched grain (lāja) from the winnowing pan (sya). He gave the parched grain to the bridegroom as an oblation. Āpas. Gṛ.S.[83] refers to the practice that the parched grain is to be offered by the bride and not by the groom, as an oblation is put into her by her brother. The RV.[84] (amājū-r-iva pittroḥ. . . . . .) refers to an old maiden claiming her share in her patrimony. The term 'nanādṛ' for a husband's sister which means etymologically one who is not pleased shows that there was an animoisity between the sister of the husband (nanandṛ) and the brother's

wife. The Ait. Bṛ. (III. Beng. ed. 3 p. 295) mentions the relation between the rituals like that between a woman and her brother's wife, as one's sister, though born of same womb of the mother, lives by following one's wife.

The TS.[85] refers to Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭṛ as the chief priest of the Devas and as the sister's son of the Asuras. (Viśvarūpo vai Tvāṣṭraḥ purohito Devānaṃ āsīt svasrīyo' surāṇām). Viśvarūpa is said to have helped the asuras, his mother's people secretly, though he showed his interest in the Devas openly. Indra came to the rescue of the Devas and chopped off his head with his thunderbolt. The ṛc[86] (Agastyasya nadbhyaḥ......) refers to Agastya's sister's sons, apparently Bandhu and others. Sāyaṇa explains 'nadbhyaḥ' as 'nandayitṛbhyaḥ', i.e. sources of joy and thus draws our attention to the sweet relation between one and one's sister's son. The MS[87] mentions 'māturbhrātā (maternal-uncle). The Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa[88] also testifies to a tie of love between the Kaurava king Ucchaiśrava Kaupayeya and his sister's son, the Pañchāla king Keśin Dārbhya.

Brothers and sisters were married normally in order of their birth and the violation of this rule of maintaining seniority in matters of marriage was held as a sinful act, as evidenced by some words, agredidhiṣu, didhiṣūpati, parivitta and parividāna, used in Vedic literature.

Now let us try to trace the meaning of these words. The word 'didhiṣu' is used in the ṛc.[89] (mātu-r-didhiṣumavravan svasu-r-jāraḥ śṛṇotu naḥ/ bhrātendrasya sakhā naḥ//) where Pūṣan is called 'didhiṣu' of his mother, the lover of his sister, brother of Indra and friend of ours. 'Didhiṣu' is explained by Sāyaṇa as 'pati' (garbhasya nidhātuḥ patyuḥ) but by the learned authors of Vedic Index,[90] Grassman, Roth and Griffith as 'wooer' or 'suitor'. This word is also found in the ṛc.[91] (Udīrṣva nāryabhi .... hastagrābhasya didhiṣo-s-tavedam....). Sāyaṇa explains: "Devarādikaḥ pretapatīm-'udīrṣva nāri' ityanayā bhartṛ-sakāśāt utthāpayet", i.e., the brother of the husband and others should raise the wife of the dead husband from the funeral pyre, where she lies with her dead husband with the ṛc. beginning with 'udīrṣva ete.' He also quotes the Āśva. Gṛ. S.[92]: "It has been laid down in the sūtra—the brother of the husband as the representative of the

husband, a pupil or an old servant should raise her with the ṛc—"udīrṣva ete." The word 'didhiṣoḥ' means 'garbhasya nidhātuḥ, according to sāyaṇa, i.e., layer of the seed. Sāyaṇa says—"Yasmāt-tvaṃ **hasta-gārbhasya** pāṇigrahaṃ Kurvataḥ didhiṣoḥ garbhasya nidhātuh tava asya **patyuḥ** saṃbhandhādāgatam idam janitvaṃ jāyātvam-abhilakṣya saṃ-vabhūtha saṃbhūtāsi anumaraṇa-niśchayam-akārṣīh tasmād-agaccha." Sāyaṇa explains AV., quoted above as "hastagrābhaḥ pānigrahaṇakartā tasya dadhiṣoḥ dhārayituḥ tava patyuḥ idam janitvam-apatyādi-rūpeṇa janmatvam-abhisaṃbabhūtha abhi Saṃprāptāsi." meaning distinctly that "you have obtained birth of thy husband in the shape of the progeny etc., who was the supporter and holder of (your) hand." Thus the word 'didhiṣoḥ' in the ṛc., noted above means the dead husband, layer of the said and the sense suggested is the futility of the wife lying with the dead husband for which she has decided to court death with her husband ; while **'dadhiṣoḥ'** of the AV. suggests the rebirth of the husband who was her supporter in the shape of the offspring. Whitney translates the above verse of AV as—"Go up, O woman, to the world of the living ; thou liest by this one who is deceased : Come ! to him who grasps thy hand, thy second spouse (didhīṣu), thou hast now entered into the relation of wife to husband." He comments that 'didhiṣos' is a correct reading and 'didhiṣos' is only a corruption. TA.[93] has 'didhiṣos', Whitney says that "the woman can not be left free and independent ; she can only be relieved of her former wifehood by taking up a new one, ... he who grasps her hand to lead her down from the pile, becomes, at least for once, her husband." He gets his statement confirmed by Āśva. Gṛ. S. he quotes. Oldenberg[94] holds the same view and refers to the brother-in-law taking over the position of the bridegroom. The authors of the Vedic Index[95] takes the word 'didhīṣu' in the sense of a wooer, probably a brother-in-law who takes the place of the husband at the funeral rite and who, as in the Hebraic levirate, is to beget a child by the brother's wife, if there is no son." Dr. A. C. Banerjee[96] also finds it "safer to render didhiṣu" as the lover or suitor."

Next about 'parivitta', The AV.[97] may be quoted here "Yebhiḥ pāśaiḥ parivittovivaddho'ṅga arpita utsitaścha vi te muchyantāṃ vimucho hi santi bhruṇaghni pūṣan duritāni

mṛkṣva//"—tr. (Whitney)—with what bonds the oversloughed one is bound apart, applied and tied up on each limb, let them be released, for they are releasers; wipe off difficulties, O Pūṣan, on the embryo—slayer. Sāyaṇa explains 'parivitta' as the man (younger brother) who marries first, while his eldest brother remains unmarried. (Parivittaḥ jyeṣṭhe akṛta-dāra-parigrahe pūrvaṃ gṛhīta-dāraḥ). Ludwig in his translation of the RV.[98] reads 'parivettā' instead of 'parvitta' in the sense suggested by Śāyaṇa. But the authors of the Vedic Index[99] take the word 'parivitta' in the sense of "an elder brother who is not married when his younger brother is." Delbruck,[100] Bloomfield[101] and Zimmer take this word as the elder brother, unmarried while his younger brother gets married. However in both senses the 'parivitta' represents one of sinful conduct.

The Vaj. S. mentions 'parivitta', parivividāna, and 'edidi-dhiṣuḥpati' in connection with victims to be sacrificed in Puruṣamedha. (Sandhaye jāraṃgehāyopapatimārtyai parivittaṃ nirṛtyai parivividānamarādhyā edidhiṣuḥpatim......), that is these victims to be sacrificed for the deities presiding over ārti (injury), nirṛti (destruction) and arāddhi (ill success); and the jāra (lover) and upapati (cohusband) are to be sacrificed for the deities, concerned with sandhi or unification and geha or household respectively. The Maitrāyanī Sam.[102] mentions: "Sūryābhyudite te mṛjanta Sūryābhyuditaḥ Sūryābhinimrukte, Sūryābhinimruktaḥ śyāvadatī śyāvadan kunakhinī kunakhyagredadhiṣi agredadhuḥ parivitte parivittaḥ parivividāne parivividāno vīrahaṇi vīhahā bhruṇahaṇi bhruṇahaṇam eno nātyeti", that is, they (gods) wiped it (sin) off over the Sūryābhyudita (one who sleeps while the sun has risen), he again (wipes it off) over one upon whom (while sleeping) the sun has set, and (thence the sin is passed on successively) from him to one having brown teeth, to one with bad nails to the agredadhus, to the parivitta, to the parivividāna, to the killer of human beings and finally, to the slayer of the embryo or the Brahman). The Kāṭhaka Sam.[103] mentions the same list with the addition of 'didhiṣupati' and 'agre-didhiṣuḥ' instead of agre-'daduḥ'; whereas the Kāpiṣṭhala Sam.[104] begins the list with Kunakhī and reads with a slight difference as 'vīrahā brahmajye brahmajjo' etc. The order of transference of sin also differs a little, The Kāṭhaka mentions 'agre-didhiṣuḥ' and

'didhiṣupatiḥ' after parivitta and parivividāna and the Kāpiṣṭhala mentions parivitta and parivividāna after agredadhuḥ. Sāyaṇa explains 'parivitta' as 'jyeṣṭhapūrvamevodhabhāryaṃ Kaniṣṭham', i.e., the youngest brother marrying before the eldest brother, parivividāna as 'prathamato vivāhaśīlam kaniṣṭhaḥ' san tadāgrahayuktamityarthaḥ', i.e., one, the youngest (of brothers) intending to marry first and didhiṣupati as "dvi-r-vivāhaṃkurvatī strī didhiṣu-s-tasyāḥ patim", i.e., the husband of a twice-married woman. But Mahīdhara takes these words in a different sense: 'parivitta' as the unmarried elder brother, while his younger brother is got married, parivividāna as the youngest brother, married while his eldest brother is still unmarried; and edidhiṣupati as the husband of the younger daughter while his eldest sister is unmarried. Bhaṭṭabhāskara agrees with Mahīdhara's explanation of the first two but he takes didhiṣupati in the sense of the husband of the younger sister while her elder sister is unmarried. (jyāyasyām anūdhāyām kanīyasī pūrvam-uhyate sā didhiṣuḥ tasyāḥ patim). However, there is little doubt that because jāra and upapati are enjoined in Vāj. Sam. to be dedicated in sacrifice to be deities presiding over conciliation and settlement of household affairs; whereas parivitta, parivividāna and didhiṣupati are to be given over to the deities representing injury, destruction and ill success, we may assume that the conduct of the first two was held less sinful that of the last three. Besides, the Brāhmaṇas say nothing against the jāra or upapati and so these relationships were not unusual in the society of the period of the Brāhmaṇas. Rather the terms parivitta etc., as referred to in the AV. and Brāhmaṇas, as noted above, indicate that seniority was always held in high esteem, not only in marriage but also in other spheres of activities in the society.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the term 'didhiṣu' denotes a male or female suitor or wooer. The word 'didhiṣvo', i.e., plural of didhiṣu, used in feminine gender occurs in ṚV.[105] only once; and so we may assume that didhisu denotes the wooer of both the sexes. Dr. Banerjee is justified to interpret 'Agne didhisu' in the sense of "the woman wooed before"; otherwise if explained as 'a man who has his wife who had a former suitor', the word would be identical with 'didhiṣupati'. 'Agre-didhiṣupati,' used in Vasiṣṭha D. S.[106] is nothing but

'didhiṣupatiḥ'. However, there is nothing in the Brāhmaṇas to show that seniority was always insisted upon in marriage. Sin could be passed over from the wife to the husband and also from the elder brother to the younger one. Hence the right of priority in marriage was stressed upon in the Brāhmaṇas, in connection with brothers in the same family and also in case of marriage with a woman, as one wooed before her marriage was held unacceptable to the second man.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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2. 1.1.9
3. 1.179
4. XVIII 4, 75-77
5. AV., IV, 1, 22 & 43-44
6. 32.10
7. IV.1.1
8. 2.3.9.2 ; 5.3.2 & 8.31.5.
9. 8.31.5
10. RV., 5.28.3
11. RV., 1.179, 1-4
12. 1.126.6-7 & 1.116.15
13. X.28.1 & 6
14. X. 86.7-9
15. IV.42.9
16. Beng. ed. 3.11, pp. 266-267
17. VIII, 91, 4
18. 1.191.10
19. 1.8.9, vide Keith's trans ; (1967), p. 120
20. RV., VII.88.5
21. ,, , IV.19.2
22. ,, , III.53.12
23. ,, , IV.42.9
24. 1.117.7
25. V. 47.6
26. IX.112.3
27. I.191.14
28. II.32.4
29. X.85.44
30. X.85.42
31. X.85.45
32. 1.66.5-6
33. X.34
34. VIII, 1.34
35. 11.6, 14 & 16-20
36. VI.2.1.1
37. RV., 1.70.9-10
38. VI. 5.8.2 ; cf. ŚB, IV.4, 2.13
39. 1.124.1
40. 1.17, 1
41. RV., II.17.7
42. II.4
43. V.61.10
44. X.34, 2.4
45. P.W.H.C., p. 213
46. RV., 1.126.3
47. Women in Rg. p. 155
48. VIII, 19.36
49. X.27.11
50. pp. 279
51. P.W.H.C. (Delhi 1973) Motilal Banarasidas p. 116
52. X.40.8
53. IV.18.12
54. X.18.7
55. P.W.H.C., pp. 116-117
56. XVIII.3.1
57. X.18.7
58. Anuvāka, 84
59. X.18.8 ; cf. AV. XVIII, 3.2

60. RV., VII.4.7
61. XIII, 12.19
62. p. 281
63. IV. 42.8
64. 1.116.13 ; of 1.117. 24 ; VI, 62. 7 ; & X. 39.7 ; 65.12
65. X.18.8
66. X.85.44
67. X.18.9
68. VI.1
69. IX.5.27.27
70. X.40.2
71. 4.2.18
72. III.31.2
73. II.10.1
74. III.31.1
75. 1.124.7
76. 1.17.1
77. 1.124.7
78. I. p. 475
79. 1.8.3.6
80. X.85.46 cf. IX.96.22
81. iii, 37.5
82. 1.109.2
83. V.3-4
84. II.17.7
85. II.5.1.1
86. X.60.6
67. i.6.12
88. III, 29.1-3
89. VI. 55.5
90. I, p. 359
91. X.18.8
92. 4.2.18
83. vi.1.3
94. Dia. Religion des Veda, 573
95. 1.359, cf. RV., X.40.2
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97. vi. 112
98. 3.470
99. 1. p. 496
100. D.L.V. 580
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102. IV.1.9
103. xxxi, 7
104. XIVii, 7
105. 1.71.3
106. xx.7

CHAPTER V

Dress and decoration :

The terracotas, discovered from the bed of Indus Valley civilisation reveal the use of 'śārī' and in some cases of head-dress. But the evidence of materials of which cloth was made in that hoary antiquity is very scanty. However, prices of cotton-cloth have been unearthed in the excavation of Mohenjo-daro. Hence we may assume that the Vedic Aryans knew the use and cultivation of cotton, at least when they came in contact with the primitive peoples in India. But we know that when hunting was the principal occupation of the primitive peoples, skin was naturally used for their clothing. Skin was used by ancient Indian Brāhmaṇas and particularly the Ṛṣis in the Brahmanical society, as they might have as a matter of simple living, accepted it from the primitive people. Some scholar takes the ṛc.[1] "munayo vātavaśnīḥpiśaṅgā vasate mata" in the sense that the garments of the hermits were made of tanned skin." Their garments are noted in the said ṛc.[1] to have been "soiled of yellow hue": but it is difficult to assess from it that these had been made of tanned skin. Like-wise his interpretation that Maruts are described as wearing deerskin[2] is also far-fetched; because the ṛc. does not contain any word for deerskin. The term 'Valka' in TS[3] and TB[4] or 'Valkala" used in later literature means 'barkgarments' and not necessarily skin cloth. However, skin might have been in use in the Vedic age, for making dress, as in earlier period.

Women were, as are till today, fond of adorning them-selves with dress and ornaments even in the Vedic age. Mothers decorated their daughters with dress and ornaments, evidently with a view to attract their lovers or matches for matrimony, as reflected in the ṛc.[5] (susaṃkāśā mātṛmṛṣṭeva yoṣā. . . . . .) Elsewhere[6] (jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsā. . . . .) Uṣā is compared to a matron who, well-dressed, discloses her beauty to her lord. Similarly a maiden[7] is depicted a deck-ing herself with decorations to approach her husband. Hence there is little doubt about the social custom of beautifying oneself with gay dress and decoration. Not only men or women

men but also horses were clothed with the upper garment (adhivāsam) and with golden trappings (hiraṇyāni), as noted in the ṚV.[8] Besides cotton, bark or skin we hear of wool as the material of making a cloth, wool meant for making a warm cloth was evidently used by the Aryans, particularly when they were in the region of cold climate. The Paruṣṇi country was famous for its wool, like Gañdhāra, for its sheep.[9] The words 'śuchāyāścha' śuchasya cha' in ṚV.[10] mean she-goat and he-goat who are blessed with Pūṣan as their lord and if so, goat's fleeces were also used in making garments. Woollen thread (Urṇāsūtra) is repeatedly mentioned in later saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas.[11] The ŚB[12] (anaiḍakīr ūrṇāḥ) mentions wool, not coming from sheep, implying thereby that goat's hair was also used for the purpose of clothing. The Ṛgvedic poet speaks highly of wool of Gandhāra's sheep. (Sarvāhamasmi romaśā Gandhārīnām-ivā-vikā).[13]

From the Vedic literature we learn that words like Adhivāsa, vāsa, sic, śāmulya, drāpi and peśas were used to denote garments of both the sexes. Adhivāsa[14] means the upper garments. The ŚB.[15] mentions that the king in a ritual puts on garments, one called tārpya, next one of undyed wool, then a mantle and a head-band. An undergarment (Vāsaḥ antaram and nīvi, in AV., viii, 2.16) and an upper garment (adhivāsa) were used by both the sexes. Paridhāna is also noted in AV.[16] and Bṛ. Upa.[17] probably to mean an undergarment. A garment of Saffron (Kausumbhaparidhāna), a silken garment is also mentioned in Śāñkh. Āraṇyaka.[18] The VS[19] also refers to a dyer, evidently, for colouring garments. The garments were of the embroidered (peśas) and the Maruts[20] are depicted as wearing mantles adorned with gold (hiraṇyān pratyatkān). Tārpya means, according to Katyāyana and Sāyaṇa, a linen cloth or one soaked in ghee or one made of triparṇa plants. Goldstucker means by this, 'a silk-undergarment,'. Kings used to wear 'drāpi', i.e.,a gorgeous mantle on ceremonious occasions. The AV.[21] (tasyai hiraṇya-drāpaye'rātyā akaraṃ namaḥ) shows that a woman also used to wear a 'drāpi ; The ṚV.[22] shows the use of drāpi even by the important God Varuṇa and Sāyaṇa explains the term as 'Kavacha', a mantle. Hence we may assume that drāpi was used by prominent men. 'Vāsa' might have denoted an upper garment like adhivāsa, at least

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in the case of Mudgalānī[23] whose vāsa was being blown up in the air by the wind. (Utsma vāto vahati vāso . . . .). If so, it served the purpose of modern 'Orhni'. The wedding dress was called Vādhūya, as noted in ṚV.[24] The RV.[25] (Mātā-putraṃ yathā sichābhyenaṃ Bhūma ūrṇuhi) refers to 'sich' the border of the upper garment with which the mother is said to have covered the child in her lap. Elsewhere[26] Agni is said to have illuminated the Heaven and Earth, the borders of the skycloth.

'Peśas' means, according to the authors of the Vedic Index, "an embroidered garment as a female dancer would wear." The making of such garments was a regular occupation of women, as is indicated by the Peśaskārī, the female embroidered, figuring in the list of victims at the Puruṣamedha in the Yajurveda (VS., 30.9) "though the commentator on the Tait. Brāh,[27] explains the word as 'wife of a maker of gold.[28] Prof. Sarkar explains the term 'peśas' as "gold-embroidered cloth generally."[29] But the terms 'hiraṇyapeśas'[30] and hiraṇyadrāpi[31] shows that peśas meant simply a costly cloth and it was used in a compound with 'hiraṇya' to indicate its being embroidered with gold threads. The word 'Supeśaḥ'[32] also confirms the same sense, meaning one with beautiful dress.

Uṣṇīṣa means the turban[33] or headdress, according to Vedic Index, used by both the sexes. It is mentioned in AV[34], AB.[35] ŚB.[36] KS.[37] and MS[38] in the same sense. Vrātya's turban is also noted in PB.[39] Indrāṇī is depicted as wearing it in ŚB[40]. Dr. Altekar[41] is justified to remark that "probably this uṣṇīṣa was something like a pagree and not merely a piece of cloth for covering the head like the modern Oḍhṇi. It was not very common, for the usual custom for the ladies was to arrange the hair in different artistic plaits (AV., X.114.3 ; VS., XI.56), the grace of which could not be properly revealed, if the head was covered by a headdress or Oḍhni". However, the case of Indrāṇī noted above, indicates that the turban was worn by rich and aristocratic ladies. A fan-like head dress, seen on terracotta figurines of the period of the Indus valley civilization indicates its use even before the Vedic period. However, its use in the post-Vedic period became rarer, as evidenced by the sculptures

in Bharhut and Sāhchi which show that an upper garment was rarely used by women in the Śuṅga period.

Śāmulya, as referred to in the marriage hymn of the RV.[42] means a "woollen garment", worn at night, according to the learned authors of the Vedic Index.[43] Prof. Sarkar[44] remarks that it might have been of "silk-cotton wool." But Dr. Altekar's suggestion that it might have been "the sāri rather than a short" is not acceptable and I think that Dr. Upadhyaya is more justified to think of it as a 'skirt in the pleated effect."

The art of weaving was known to the Aryans even in the Ṛgvedic period, as evidenced by the word 'Sirī',[45] and Vayitrī denoting a female weaver. Bleaching or dyeing clothes is also implied in the term 'śuṇdhyavaḥ'.[46] Uṣā is depicted as putting on a brocaded robe. Such brocade indicates the practice of interweaving with gold threads to produce rich dresses of cotton or wool. The VS.[47] mentions a 'rajayitrī', a female dyer in this list of victims at the Puruṣamedha. "Sūchī" is mentioned in ṚV. and later Vedic works;[48] and hence needle work must have been in vogue throughout the Vedic period and stitched clothes must have been used by Vedic Aryans. Dr. Upadhyaya[49] has rightly remarked: "The cold climate of the Punjab and the north-western frontier must have necessitated the use of stitched clothes." If this is accepted in the Indo-Iranian times when the Aryans lived in a colder climate, stitched clothes might have been in practice. Prof. Altekar[50] refers to 'Chaṇḍātaka', mentioned in Kātyāyana Ś.S., which the wife of the sacrificer was given to wear and which means a short, according to a commentator. But the term 'chaṇḍātaka' is absent in the Vedas and hence Prof. Altekar suggests that Kātyāyana probably refers "to an innovation of his age; and that "in the Vedic age very probably only a dahara or Kaupina, that is, a strip of cloth to be worn on a girdle in between the legs was used on the occasion."

Spinning and Weaving:

A criterion of a country's civilization is its progress in the arts of clothing. The art of spinning and weaving has already gained a firm footing among the Aryans even in the

Ṛgvedic period. The Vedic passage: "as fathers, they have set their heritage on earth, their offspring, as a thread continuously spun out," shows the practice of spinning. A triply twisted thread is also referred to in another passage. Elsewhere we find the process of spinning and weaving fully revealed: "The sacrifice drawn out with threads on every side, stretched by a hundred sacred ministers and one, this do these fathers weave who hitherward are come: they set beside the war and cry, weave forth, weave back. The man extends it and the man unbinds it: even to this vault of heaven hath he outspun it. These legs are fastened to the seat of worship: they made the Soma hymns their weaving shuttles." The technical terms like 'tantu' meaning thread and the warp, as opposed to 'Otu' (=woof), found in the AV.,[51] 'tasara' meaning 'Shuttle' in ṚV.[52] and Yaj. V.,[53] 'mayūkha' meaning a peg used for keeping a web stretched in ṚV.[54] also indicate the prevalence of the art of weaving in the Vedic period.

'Upānaḥ' meaning a sandal or shoe is noted in TS.[55] and later Vedic works. The ŚB.[56] mentions shoes of boar-skin. The use of staff and sandals (daṇḍopānaha) is evidenced by the Kauṣītaki Brāhmana.[57] The Pañcha-viṃśa Brāhmaṇa[58] refers to 'Upānaḥ' of a Vrātya.

Love of ornaments was, as is still now, an important feature of Vedic Society. The Vedic Indians attached great value to gold, as evidenced by the ṛcs.[59] singing praises of gold (hiraṇya-piṇḍān and hiraṇyayuḥ) where Divodāsa is said to have given golden treasures to the Ṛṣi Garga. Gold was used for ornaments, as indicated by 'niṣka-kaṇṭha' in AB.[60] and 'niṣkagrīva' in ṚV.[61] meaning one with a golden ornament on the neck and necklaces of gold, reached down to the chest (vakṣaḥsu rukmā). The ṛc.[62] mentions 'Karṇaśobhana' ornament for the ear, apparently for the use of men. Hiraṇya[63] in the plural means ornaments of gold. Gold was obtained from the ore by smelting, as indicated in Vedic passages.[64] Hiraṇyakāra is noted in the list of victims at the Puruṣamedho.[65] The ṚV.,[66] depicts Maruts wearing a set of women's ornaments like anklets on feet, gold on breast and visors wrought of gold on head. Armlets, bangles and anklets[67] were used by both the sexes even in the Ṛgvedic age. Rings were also perhaps used for fingers, as denoted by 'Khādi-hasta'[68] and

'hiraṇyakhādi'[69] the ṛc.[70] (Aṃseṣvā vaḥ prapatheṣu Khādayo' ......) refers to some sort of ornament decking the shoulders and anklets (Khādi) on feet. Kumba is noted with Opaśa and Kurira as an ornament of women's hair in ṚV.[71] and AV.[72] The TS.[73] refers to the goddess Sinīvālī as wearing a fine head-dress (sukapardā, su-kurīrā and svopaśā). The AV.[74] mentions a demon as 'tirīṭin' i.e., adorned with a tiara or diadem. Pravarta was a round ornament of the Vrātya, as referred to in AV.[75] Prakāśa and 'prāvepa' are mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas[76] and MS[77] as denoting an ornament of metal or a metal mirror. A jeweller is mentioned in the list of victims at the Puruṣamedha in the Yajurveda.[78] 'Maṇigrīvam' in the ṚC.,[79] shows the use of a jewel on the neck. The PB.[80] indicates that a 'maṇi' could be strung on a thread. Maṇi was worn round the neck as an amulet against all kinds of evils. 'Śañkha' in the AV.[81] denotes a pearlshell used as an amulet; and we find in this hymn the tale of the origin of pearls: "Born from the wind out of the atmosphere, out of the light of lightning let this gold-born shell of pearl protect us from distress." It is interesting to note the remark of W.D. Whitney in this connection that "the bit of Hindu folk-lore about the origin of pearls by transformation of rain-drops falling into the sea (Indische Sprüche, 344) is as old as this Vedic text." (AV. I, p. 161). 'Vimuktā', a pearl is also found in the late Ṣaḍviṃśa Bṛ.[82] It is more likely that the pearls were known to the Aryans when they had spread upto the sea-coast. 'Sthāgara'[83] denotes an ornament, made of the fragrant substance, 'sthagara'. 'Sraj' meaning garland was used by both the sexes desiring to be handsome.[84] The ṚV.[85] refers to 'Aśvin-s' as lotus-wreathed (puṣkara-srajā).

The ṚV.[86] (chatu-s-kapardā yuvatiḥ su-peśā ......) speaks of an altar compared to a young girl with hair, oiled and combed, made in four plaits. The term 'viṣita-stukā' in the ṛc.[87] shows how hair was braided. Rudra is depicted as wearing his hair in coils (kapardine) in the ṚV.[88] Pūṣan is also likewise painted in the ṛc.[89] Hence we may assume that not only women but also men had their hair coiled. Indrāṇī[90] is also said to have possessed lovely hands, fingers, broad hair-plaits and broad hips. (Kiṃ suvāho svaṅgur pṛthuṣṭo pṛthu-jāghane). Sinīvālī is addressed as one with long broad tufts

of hair. (pṛthuṣṭuke) in the ṚV.[91] The term 'stukā' is also mentioned in KS.[92] and ŚB.[93] in the sense of tufts of hair. The descendants of Vasiṣṭha are sung of as having their hair coiled on the right side.[94] ('dakṣiṇata-s-kapardā'). Hence we may assume that the different styles of arranging hairs, as noted in paintings and sculptures of India of the later post-Vedic period had already been in practice even in the Ṛgvedic period.

The ṚV.[95] speaks of Indra, rich with beard. The AV.[96] and VS.,[97] also refer to one's beard. So we may assume that a man was accustomed to bear beards. However, shaving with the razor (kṣura) was also known to the Ṛgvedic Aryans, as evidenced by the ṛc[98] (bhurijoriva kṣuram) and the AV.[99] The ṚV.[100] (Vapteva śmaśru vapasi pra bhūma) refers to the art of shaving by a barber. A hair-dresser is said to have shorn hair and beard, adorning the face, with his very sharp razor.[101]

The ṚV.[102] (Āñjana-gandhiṃ surabhim . . . . araṇyāni-ṃ) sings praise of the presiding deity of the forest as 'Sweet-scented'. Elsewhere[103] it speaks of women as embellished with sacred perfumes (puṇya-gandhā's). Again in the ṛc.[104] women attending the funeral rites are depicted as adorned "with fragrant balm and unguent" and "decked with fair jewels". (Imā nārī-r. . . . . .āñjanena sarpiṣā. . . . . .su-ratanā. . . . . .). Thus we may assume that ointments and perfumes were used by women even in the Ṛgvedic age for embellishing their bodies.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. x: 136.2
2. RV. 1.166.10
3. ii, 5.3,5
4. i, 4.7.6
5. 1.123.11
6. 1.124.7 cf. x.71.4
7. RV., IV.58.9
8. 1.162.16
9. RV., V.52.9 & IV.22.2
10. X.26.6
11. MS, iii, 11,9 & KS. 38.3 & VS, 19.80
12. ii, 5,2,15
13. RV., 1.126.7
14. RV., 1.140.9 & ŚB, v.3.5.22
15. V.3.5.20-23
16. viii, 2.16
17. vi, 1.10
18. xi, 4
19. 30.12
20. RV., V. 55.6
21. V. 7.10
22. 1.25.13

23. X. 102.2
24. X.85.34
25. X.18.11
26. RV., 1.95.7
27. iii, 3.4.5
28. VI. II, p. 22
29. Some Asp. of Early Hist. of India, p. 67
30. RV., viii.31.8
31. AV. V. 7.10
32. RV., X.114.3
33. 1. p. 104
34. XV.2.5
35. vi.1
36. iii, 3,2, 3
37. xiii, 10
38. IV.4.3
39. Xvii, 1.14
40. xiv, 2, 1, 8
41. P.W.H.C. p. 280
42. X.85.29
43. II, p. 372 cf. Śāmūla In Jai, UP. Brah. 1.38.4
44. Some. Asp. Ear. Soc. Hist. of India, p. 59.
45. RV., X.71.9 ; cf. PB, i.8.9
46. RV., V. 52.9
47. 30.12 ; cf. TB, iii, 4, 7, 1
48. RV., ii,32,4 ; AV., xi; 10.3 ; VS, 23, 33 ; TB, iii, 9, 6, 4 ; AB, 18, 6, ; SB, xiii, 2; 10, 2 & 3 ; Jai, Br. ii, 10 & Jaim. Up. Br. 1, 10:3
49. Women in Rgveda, p. 171
50. P.W.H.C. (1973), p. 293
51. XIV.2.51
52. X.130.2
53. VS., 19.83
54. VII.99.3, cf. RV. X. 130.2
55. V.4.4.4 (Kārṣṇī Upānabhāvupamuñchate).
56. V.4.3.19
57. iii.3
58. xvii, 1, 14
59. vi, 47.23 & viii, 78, 9
60. viii, 22
61. V.19.3 ; cf. AV. V, 17.14 RV., V. 54.11
62. viii, 78, 3
63. RV., 1.122.2 VS. 15. 50
64. ŚB, vi, 1.3, 5 : PB, XViii, 6, 4 & Jaim. Br. i, 10
65. VS, 30.17 & TS, iii, 4, 14, 1
66. V. 54.11
67. RV., V. 58.2 : 1.168.3 & V. 54.11
68. RV. V. 58.2
69. Śāñkh-Ś.Ś., iii, 5, 12 and viii, 23.6
70. 1.166.9
71. x.85.8
72. VI.138.3.
73. IV.1.5.3
74. viii, 6.7
75. XV.2.1
76. TB, 1, 8.2.3, PB. xviii; 9.10 & ŚB., V. 4.5.22
77. IV.4.8
78. VS, 30.7 & TB, iii, 4, 3, 1
79. I.122.14
80. XX.16.6
81. IV.10.1
82. V.6
83. TB, ii, 3, 10; 2 & Āpas. Ś.S., xiv, 15,2
84. RV., iv, **33.6 ; AV.,** 1.14.1 ; PB, xvi, 4.1 & ŚB, xiii, 5, 4.2
85. RV., X, 184.2 & AV., iii, 22.4
86. x.114.3
87. 1.167.5

88. 1.114.1 & 5
89. VI.56.2
90. RV., X.86.8
91. II.32.6
92. 35, 6, & AV., vii, 74.2
93. iii, 2, 1, 13
94. RV., vii, 33.1
95. ii, 11, 17 ; viii, 33, 6 & x.23.1
96. V.19.14
97. xi.x.92 & xx.25
98. VIII.4.16
99. VI.68.1
100. X.142.4
101. AV., viii, 2.17
102. RV., X.146.6
103. RV., VII.55.8
104. X.18.7

CHAPTER VI

i) *Food and Drink* :

Food is called 'anna', derived from √ ad (=to eat) and also 'pitu' in the sense of nourisher, used in the ṚV.[1] (.... pituṃ papivāñ-chārvannā) where Soma, the intoxicating drink is referred to as pitu. Elsewhere[2] pitu is food as nourisher ("pitum-nu stoṣam"), Sayaṇa explains it as 'pālakam-annam'. Iḍā,[3] andhas,[4] parimśa[5] and āhāra[6] are also used in the sense of food in the Vedic literature. Anna is more frequently used in the ṚV., AV.,[7] T. Up.[8] and Chānd. Up.,[9] where it is highly praised as 'sarvouṣadha' i.e., panacea and as increasing different faculties of man.

ii) *Cereals* :

Specimens of barley, unearthed from the ruins of Mohenjodaro[10] show its use in that region in the pre-Vedic age. Barley was an important item of food in the Vedic period, as evidenced by the Vedic literature.[11] It was formed into cakes (puroḍāśa), noted in the ṚV. and later works.[12] Sāyaṇa explains 'pakti' of the ṚV.[13] as a cake, but since pakti and puroḍāśa are used in the same hymn, some scholar takes pakti as "a liquid preparation", served after puroḍāśa. The ŚB. (Yava-mayam-apūpam kṛtvā[14] ......) and "vrīhimayam-apūpam"[15]) shows how cakes were prepared from both barley and rice-flour. Parched barley[16] meal, mixed with curds, clarified butter, soma-juice or water or milk was also taken. Yavāgu[17] means 'barley-gruel' but it was also made up of other grains like 'jartila' (wild sesame) and gavīdhuk (a kind of grass), as noted in TS.[18] (jartila-yavāgvā vā juhuyād gavīdhuk-yavāgva vā). The learned scholars, authors of the Vedic Index[19] think that "Yava in the Ṛgvedic appears to be a generic term for any sort of 'grain' and not merely 'barley'. The later sense is probably found in the Atharvaveda and is regular later." But as noted above, barley was known to the earlier people of the period of the Indus valley civilization and if so, we may accept the fact of its use even in the Ṛgvedic stage.

Wheat (godhūma) is mentioned in the VS.[20] and ŚB.[21] but not in the Ṛgveda. But if the opinion of the Russian scientists like Vevilov that wheat grew up in centre near the Punjab in the pre-historic age is accepted to be true, we may hold that it continued its use among the Aryans even in the Ṛgvedic stage, probably when they had associated themselves with the Dravidians for the first time.

The excavations[22] at Maheshwara and Nāvdātolī show that wheat, rice, 'masūra', 'māṣa', 'arahar', gram, pea and kulattha' were used by the people of the region like the Dravidians and Proto-Australoids as early as 1200 b.c. Rice-husk was used for mud-plaster at Hastinapure about 800B.C.[73] Hence we may assume that the Aryans borrowed the use of rice from the non-aryans even in the Ṛgvedic stage. The Ṛgveda[24] refers to 'dhānyaṃ vījam', which might have meant grain in general. The term 'Vrīhi' meaning rice is not mentioned in the Ṛgveda but is ferquently referred to in the later Vedic works.[25] The TS.[26] refers to its two types Kṛṣṇa and Śukla, besides 'āśudhānya', obviously a swift variety of rice. The ŚB.[27] mentions 'hāyaṇa', a type of rice growing in a year. The TS[28] speaks of 'mahāvrīhi' as the best of all types of rice. (Sāmrājyaṃ vā etad-oṣadhīnāṃ yanmahāvrīhayaḥ). The Bṛh. Upa.[29] refers to ten cultivated types of grain : rice and barley (vrīhi-yavāḥ) sesamum and beans (tila-māṣāḥ), anupriyaṅgavaḥ, godhūmāḥ, masurāḥ (lentils) and khala-kulāḥ. Plāśuka is noted in the ŚB.[30] as an epithet of vrīhi meaning 'shooting up rapidly.' Odana i.e., a mess was prepared with rice, cooked in water or milk.[31] 'Parivāpa'[32] meaning fried grains of rice is noted in later saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas. 'Lāja'[33] meaning the same is mentioned in later Vedic works. Parched rice was also boiled and taken as a drink.[34]

iii) *Pulses* :

Pulses like māṣa[35] (beans), mudga[36] and masūra[37] were also used. Kulmāṣa[38] was a preparation of beans, mixed with guḍa and oil ; and Śaṅkara has explained it as inferior beans (Kutsitān māṣān). The AV.[39] refers to Vi-ṣṭārin, a type of idana porridge. Whitney explains this term as rice-mess kneaded into furrows and with juices, poured into them. Kṛsara, a mess of rice and sesamum is mentioned in Ṣaḍviṃśa

Brāhmaṇa.[40] Milk or milk products were the main items of the food and drink of the Vedic Aryans who were pastoral people at least in the earlier phase. Milk[41] (payas) finds mention frequently in Ṛgveda and later Vedic works. Milk of cows,[42] buffoloes[43] and goats[44] was taken. Gavāsirā[45] was a preparation of milk with soma. Pratiduh in the sense of fresh milk, warm from the cow is mentioned in the AV.,[46] TS.,[47] ŚB.[48] and TB.[49] Boiled milk and its cream are referred to as 'śṛta' in ŚB.[50] Some people took the vow of living on milk alone (payovrata).[51] Curds were frequently used.[52] "Somāso dadhyāśiraḥ"[53] shows that soma was mixed with curd. "Pṛṣadājya"[54] means 'sprinkled butter', i.e., butter mixed with sour milk. 'Āmikṣā' was a mess of clotted curds, mentioned not in the RV. but in all later works ;[55] it was the solid portion of the preparation, the liquid part being known as Vājina.[56] The ṛc[57] (śuchi ghṛtaṃ na taptam-aghnyāyāḥ) states distinctly that ghee of cow's milk was held pure after heating. Ghee was used with soma[58] and cakes.[59]

The RV.[60] ('yaḥ samidhā ya āhutī yo vedena dadāśa marto Aghaye yo manasā svadhvaraḥ) states that he who offers to Agni a fuel-stick, an offering of ājya etc., with praises of Vedic texts and with cooked food, is a devout sacrificer. Again, the ṛc.[61] praises 'pitu' (food) of different types like water, herbs, milk-mess mixed with soma, barley and Karambha ; and the absence of meat in the list of items, nutritious for good health shows that some people took to vegetables, avoiding meat. However, fire is called the eater of ox and barren cows.[62] (ukṣānnāya vaśānnāya). Cows were killed at marriage, as noted distinctly in the RV.[63] (Aghāsu hanyante gāvo). A goat was also given into fire as share to the ancestors.[64] Elsewhere[65] we find that the flesh of buffaloes, horses, bulls, barren cows and sheep were cooked and offered into fire. A big goat or a big ox[66] was killed for a distinguished guest. "Cows were regularly slain in honour of guests."[67] The Gopatha Br.[68] refers to distribution of different parts of animals, sacrificed to different members who performed the sacrifice (Athātaḥ savanīyasya paśo-r-vibhāgaṃ.......hanu sajihve prastotuḥ.....dakṣinau padau gṛhapate vrata-radasya savyau pādau gṛhapatnyāḥ vrata-pradāyāḥ.....). The flesh of horse is described as roasted on spits (abhiśūlam nihattasyā

vadhāvati) and boiled in pots (ukhāyā).[69] The term 'māṃsaudana' is in Bṛh. Up.[70] Kakuṭha in MS[71] and Kakkaṭa in Yaj. Veda[72] means a crab. We come across a word 'Karvara' in AV.[73] meaning some sort of fish, 'Kulīkaya' and 'Jasa' in TS[74] and Kulīpaya in VS,[75] also taken to be a fish. Jhaṣa is noted in the story of Manu told in ŚB[76] meaning 'mahāmatsya' (a great fish). 'Matsya' occurs in RV.[77] only once but frequently later ; and 'mahāmatsya' in Bṛh. Upa.[78] and śakula in AV.[79] and VS.[80] show the use of fish in the Vedic period among the Aryans. Thus from the above survey we may assume that the Vedic Aryans were used to take vegetables, fish and meat. Beef-eating was the practice of the day, though the AV.[81] refers to an aversion against it. The cow was regarded as 'aghnyā'[82] (not to be killed), obviously for her usefulness even in the Ṛgvedic stage.

'Madhu' is highly sung of in the Ṛ.V. The ṛc[83] (madhva sampṛktaḥ sāragheṇa dhenavaḥ) shows how honey, procured from bees was highly appreciated. The AV.[84] (apūpavān madhumāṃścharu-reha sīdatu") states that cakes were sweetened by honey. The Jain. Up. Brāh.[85] and ŚB[86] record taboos against its use by women and pupils respectively. Ikṣu is first found in the AV[87] and later Vedic works. Apūpa was made of both barley or rice.[88]

Salt is frequently mentioned in the Vedic literature, not, of course, in the Ṛgveda.[89] The Chānd. Upa.[90] (Tadyathā lavaṇena suvarṇaṃ sandadhyāt) mentions its value greater than that of gold. But it is curious to note that though the Salt range lies within the Sapta-Sindhu region, first occupied by the Ṛgvedic Aryans, salt is conspicous by its non-mention in the Ṛgveda and it is more strange to find that its value was appreciated to be greater than that of gold in the Chānd. Upa. noted above when the Aryans had expanded far eastward, at least in the Kurukṣhetra region.

The AV. mentions 'pippalī'[91] meaning long pepper and 'haridrā'[92] (turmeric) and thus leads us to assume the use of these articles as spices. Tila (sesamum) is mentioned in the AV. and later works,[93] often in connection with māṣa (kidney bean). Its oil (taila-kuṇḍam) is referred to in AV.[94] The AV.[95] (Agne tailasya prāśān Yātudhānān vilāpaya) shows how the non-aryans were more fond of it. Mustard (sarṣapa)

is noted in Chānd. Upa.[96] The oil-seeds of sesamum were boiled and made into a porridge (tilaudana), as referred to also in the Bṛh. Upa.[97]

The Ṛ.V.[98] sings praises of plants (oṣadhi). Particularly the ṛc[99] speaks of these as mother (mātara-s), evidently for their efficacies ; and plants of various types producing flowers and fruits and even the barren ones (Yāḥ phalinī-r-yā aphalā apuṣpā yāścha puṣpinīḥ....)[100] are regarded as saving the people from all sins. Hence we may assume that the Ṛgvedic Aryans knew the importance of plants and utilised flowers and fruits. The Ṛ.V.[101] mentions distinctly the consumption of sweet fruits (svādoḥ phalasya jagdhvāya....). Fruits are mentioned in the AV. and later Vedic works, as for example, three types of jujube[102] vilva[103] (aegle marmelos), Kharjura,[104] āmra[105] (mango), āmalaka[106] (myrobalan fruit) and cucumber[107] (urvāruka).

iv) *Soma* :

Next about soma, the plant so reputed for its juice as to be praised in the earlier ninth Maṇḍala of the Ṛ.V. and other six hymns of the Ṛgveda. It was the main item of the Soma-yāga. This plant grew on the Mujavant Mountain.[108] It is difficult to ascertain its identity. Dr. J. M. Unwala identifies it with 'ephedra'.[109] The plant was first washed in water,[110] (yad-adbhih pariṣichyase mṛjyamāno gabhastyoḥ), then pounded with stones or in a mortar.[111] Its stalk was called aṃśu[112] and its juice was called andhas, rasa, pitu, pīyūṣa and amṛta. It was purified, when poured upon a strainer (antaḥ pavitra āhitaḥ)[113] It[114] was mixed with curds (dadhyāśir), with clarified butter (ghṛtaṃ vasānaḥ) and milk (gavāśir) with barley |Yavāśir) and with honey (saumyaṃ madhu). It was held to be sweet (madhu) and delicious (svādu) and an invigorating and exhilarating drink.[115]

We come across an intoxicating drunk, surā, made of fermanted barley or wild paddy. (durmadāst na surāyām).[116] The AV.,[117] while extolling a certain rice-mess offering states : "having pools of ghee, having slopes of honey, having strong drink (surā) for water, filled with milk, with water, with curds—let all these complete lotusponds approach thee.". The Ait. Bṛ.[118] (atha yat surā bhavati kṣatraṃ rūpam tad-atho

annasya rasaḥ. . . . .athāsmai surākaṃsam hasta ādadhāti) shows the importance of 'Surā', identified with a Kṣattriya and particularly the placing of surā in the hands of a king indicates its use by the Kṣattriyas. However, the ṚV.[119] (. . . .sā surā manyu-r-vibhīdako achittiḥ/. . . . . .anṛtasya prayotā) shows how surā was condemned in the society, as it was, alongwith anger and dice, looked upon as the cause of sin. The AV.[120] also mentions 'surā' alongwith flesh and dice as evils of life. The KS[121] shows that the brahmins avoided surā for its evil effects. A king named Aśvapati is said to have claimed that there was no drunkard in his kingdom (na me steno janapade na kadaryo na madyapo. . . . . .) as evidenced by the Chānd. Upa.[122] The AV. mentions other drinks, manthā and parisruta[123] and Kilāla.[124] Harisvāmī comments on 'Parisrut' in ŚB.[125] : "surā-sādhanāya paryāpta-paripākaiḥ śaṣpai-r-niṣpanno rasaḥ parisrud. ityuchyate," i.e., parisrut is an intoxicating drink, made by fermenting certain sufficiently ripened grasses. Sāyaṇa, however, opines that Surā is a beverage prepared from mature shoots of rice etc., while parisrut is such as made of shoots, not quite ripe. The Yaj. V. and Tai. Bṛ. refer to another beverage, called māsara.[126] The Kātyā. Ś. S.[127] describes in detail the method of its preparation. Mahīdhara comments on VS (xix, 14.82) : "Vrīhi-śyāmakaudanāchāmayoḥ śaṣpa-tokma-lāja nagnahu chūrṇaḥ saṃsargo' māsaran." Hence it might have been a mess of rice and śyāmaka with grass, parched barley etc. But Sāyaṇa says, while commenting on the TB :[128] "Māsaraṃ takramiśritaṃ sūkṣma yava-chūrṇam", i.e., it is a mixture of powdered barley-meal and butter-milk. However, Sāyaṇa's explanation fails to satisfy us in view of its description in detail in KS, noted above. The Āpas. D. S.[129] (tathā kīlālauṣa dhīnāṃ cha) also mentions kīlāla, prepared from cereals. Pāṇini[130] (aṅgāni maireye) refers to a spiced liquor called 'maireya', prepared with guḍa or sugar ; and elsewhere[131] he speaks of 'kāpiśāyanī', wine imported from Kāpiśi (north of Kabul). It may be noted here that soma, the most favourite drink of the Vedic period maintained its importance by its use in the Śrauta ritual but it lost its previous position in the post-vedic period, as it is not used in the domestic rites.[132] The Brāhmaṇas avoided drinking, as reflected in K.S.[133] obviously for its evil effects and Gau-

tama[134] made it a law binding on brāhmaṇas not to use any liquor.

Water of rivers, wells and springs, nay even rainwater was accepted as anbrosia (amṛta) and a remedy (bheṣaja) by the Vedic Aryans.[135] The AV.[136] praises and prays to the waters of different sources like mountain, fountain, rains, canals, streams etc. Āpas. D.S.[137] prescribes that the householder should keep the water-vessels ever filled up and shows thereby importance of water as a drink. Kātyā. Ś. S.[138] shows how water was filtered and purified for use. The art of cooking, the method of cleaning food articles with a sieve and grinding food-grains and preparation of puroḍāśa, apūpa etc. and the use of implements and utensils, as reflected in ṚV.[139] and other Vedic works[140] show how the Vedic Aryans were highly civilized in the matter of using food and drink.

Food cooked by a woman in her courses was taken to be impure.[141] (nāsyā annam-adyāt). In the later Vedic period food was looked upon to be pulluted when it came in contact with persons of low-castes. A Śūdra was not allowed to milch the cow whose milk was required to be used in a sacrifice.[142] Dining with anāryas was regarded as an act of sin.[143] Kavaṣa was born of a female slave and so he was not allowed to dine with others.[144]

The Vedic Aryans started eating with recitation of prayer to food, as reflected in ṚV.[145] (Svādo pito madho pito vayaṃ tva vavṛmahe/ asmākam-avitā bhava). The AB[146] prescribes an atonement for one who takes newly ripened corn (navānna) without offering an āgrāyaṇeṣṭi oblation.

Not only gods but men also were given food before one takes his meal. Here we may trace the worship of guests even as early as the Ṛgvedic period. The fire god is conceived as the guest in the ṚV.[147] The AV.[148] sings praises of hospitality. The Ṛcs[149] show that it is an act of sin to eat without feeding a hungry man ("Ya ādhrāya chakamānāya ....marditācaṃ na vindati" and "kevalāgho bhavati kevalādī). The ŚB[150] also entoguises the guest-offering as offering sacrifice to the deity Viṣṇu. The Tait. Upa.[151] also lays stress on hospitality, using the expression "atithi-deva" (one whose deity is one's guest). The ŚB[152] states : "One should therefore eat only in the evening and morning", to reach the full measure of

life ; and thus moderation in diet is insisted on. The ṛc[153] (ni parvatā admasado na sedu-s......) reveals to us the mode of eating that the Vedic Aryans took their meals in a sitting posture, motionless. Sāyaṇa explains this simile as "Yathā te bhojanārthaṃ naiśchalye-nāsate." From the ŚB[154] we learn that "the husband should not eat food in the presence of his wife, far from him (who does not do so), a vigorous son is born and she in whose presence (the husband) does not eat food bears a vigorous son." Elsewhere[155] it mentions that "Yājñavalkya says : whenever human women here eat, (they do so) apart from men." (....imā mānuṣyā striya-stira ivaiva puṃso jighatsanti....). The AB[156] records that soma was the prescribed drink, for the Brāhmaṇas, curds for Vaiśyas, water for the Śūdras and the juice, extracted from the roots of nyagrodha and the fruits of Udumbara, aśvattha and plakṣa for the Kṣattriyas. Thus we see that the society was casteridden by this time.

Thus from the above survey we know that in the primitive period the Negroid man gathered food from the trees and the animals he had hunted and killed. In the stage of the plants, i.e., roots and fruits and vegetables and took flesh of Proto-Australoid the man was a food-producer and began to use betel-leaves and betel-nuts and various fruits of trees which he produced. Probably he was the first producer of rice. Lateron, the Dravidians started the use of rice, barley and pulses and even that of oil, palm juice and toddytapping. Then in the period of the Indus Valley culture wheat, barley, sesamum, milk of domesticated animals like buffaloes, goats and sheep and fish and meat came to be used. Wheat and rice are absent in the Ṛgveda but they are frequently mentioned in the later saṃhitās and other Vedic works. However, the Vedic Aryans consumed barley, milk, curds, oil; clarified butter, pulses and meat. According to some scholars they took beef. Probably they had borrowed the use of these food-articles from their predecessors, i.e., the people of the Indus Valley civilization. Honey was the favourite drink of the Aryans but the Vedic Aryans learnt the use of juice of sugar-canes. The non-Aryans were gradually assimilated in the Aryan society, as reflected in the Vrātya sacrifice. In the later Vedic period the society became caste-ridden and rules

for maintaining the solidarity of a caste and purity of food were framed, the fullfledged picture of which is reflected in the post-Vedic works of the sūtra period. There is little doubt that food habits changed as a result of fusion of the Aryans with the non-Aryans. Wine was discarded by the brahmins but was used by the Kṣattriyas and other sections of the society. The words 'ghṛtavantam'[157] and 'madhumān'[158] in connection of apūpa suggests that cakes (apūpas) were prepared with clarified butter and honey. Obviously these cakes of rice or barley were fried in ghee on a slow fire and honey was mixed only to sweeten the cakes. Hence we may assume that frying was in use even as early as the Ṛgvedic period. From the remains of bones of bear, sheep and the bovine species found in the houses of the Indus Valley people in the Chalcolithic age we can not resist the conclusion that flesh of these animals formed their food. Beef-eating was in practice in the Ṛgvedic age, as reflected in Rv. (vi. 39, 1; viii, 43, 11, X.27.2 and X.85.13). The term 'goghnā means a guest for whom a cow was slaughtered. The ṛc (X.85.13—"aghāsu hanyante gāvaḥ) shows clearly how a cow was killed in Aghās (Maghās). The slaying of a great ox (mahokṣā) or a great goat (mahāja), for a guest was regularly prescribed and the word 'atithigva' means probably 'slaying cows for guests;' But Swami Mahadevananda Giri (Vedic Culture, Cal. Uni., 1947, pp. 122f.) has tried to establish that slaughter of cows in the Vedic age" is "but a misconception". He means by 'aghāsuhanyante gāvaḥ' "the Dawn making its appearance with the rise of Maghā scatter the rays of the sun," interpreting 'han' in the sense of "motion" and not slaughter. He states that in the ṚV. (viii 101, 15-16), V.S. (IV, 16, 20) and AV. X.10. & xii.4.5) "go" is clearly referred to as "aghnyā" (not to be killed). Yāska also takes 'aghnyā' as a synonym of cow (go)—"aghnyā a-han tavyā bhavati". The ṚV. (X.87.16) shows the same spirit by stating that one who steals the milk of the unkillable cow is beheaded by Agni and cow is the deity of the ṚV. (iv, 58.10). Swamiji refutes the interpretation of the Vedic mantra 'gām-ālabheta,' taken in the sense of cow-killing and says that the word "ālabhante" is used in the sense of "touching" (Ibid p. 134). He mentions that the rule of the Gṛhyasūtra

"āchāntodakāya śāsam-ādāya gau-r-iti triḥ prāheti" refers to the touching of a cow in connection with marriage. But the interpretation of the text "Etadyathā rājñe vā Brāhmaṇāya vā madhokṣaṃ mahājaṃ vā pachet, "given by Swamiji is far-fetched. The word 'Ukṣānnāya' in ṚV. (viii 43.11) is taken to be "edibles mixed with soma juice," instead of a great bull. But Agni has been referred to in the ṛc as "ukṣānnāya Vaśānnāya soma-pṛṣṭhāya vedhase" and so "soma-pṛṣṭhāya Vedhase" would have been redundant, if his explanation is accepted. The Bṛh. Upa. (VI, 4.18 "Atha ya icchet. . . .māṃsaudanaṃ pāchayitvā. . . .aukṣeṇa vārṣabheṇa vā) refers distinctly to food mixed with meat, and particularly to beef of bulls, young or aged, Swamiji's explanation of māṃsa, ukṣā and vṛṣa seems to be far-fetched, as all these terms can not be taken to mean plants simply because the Chānd. Upa. (V. 2.4) refers to "Sarvauṣadha," all types of herbs or plants.

Interest in cows in the Vedic age is exhibited in the ṚV. (vi.28.4) and also in the episode of Satyakāma Jābāla (Chānd. Upa., IV.4.1) and Bṛh. Upa., vi.3.12) where Jābāla is said to have been given 400 weak cows to be tended and raised to 1000, to gain the knowledge of Brahman. But the animal sacrifice, as reflected in ṚV., AV., and the later Brāhmaṇas, as noted above leads is to conclude that beef-eating was not unknown in the period concerned. The AV. (ix, 4.11-14) tells us distinctly that the dissectors of the sacrificial bull are to call out the names of different parts of the carcass, each offered to a particular god. It is more likely that the Vedic Aryans changed their food habit in course of their change of habitations. In earlier period when they were in colder regions, beef eating was in fashion to meet the demand of a colder climate ; but when they penetrated later on into warmer places like Kurukṣetra and other eastern places and when they realised the importance of bulls in agriculture, they gave up beef-eating, as reflected in a long discourse on the non-advisibility of cow-slaughter in the injunction of the Śat. Brāh. (III.1.2.3—"Let him not eat the flesh of the cow or the ox, for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything on earth").

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. 1.61.7
2. RV., 1.187.2
3. RV., III.1.23
4. RV., I, 153.4
5. RV., 1.187.8
6. Chānd. Upa. VIII.26.2
7. AV. xii, 1.42
8. Tait. Upa. II.2
9. VII.9.1
10. Marshall, Mohenjodaro and Indian Civ. Vol. I. p. 27
11. RV., 1.23.15 ; 1.117. 20 ; II, 5, 6 ; III 42, 7 ; V. 85.3 and IX. 68.4 ; VS., 18.12 ; TS., 4.7.4 ; KS., XV. 5 ; MS., iii, 10, 2 ; AV., II.8.3 VI. 30.1, IX, 1.22 & XII.1.42 (Yasyām-annam vrīhi-yavau....)
12. RV., III.28.1 ; IV.32 16 & VI.23.7 ; MS, III.10.2 ; AV., X.9. 25
13. IV.24.5 & 7
14. II.2.3.13
15. II.2.3.12
16. dhānā in RV., 1.16 2 ; III. 35.7 ; TS, VI. 5.11.4 & AV. 18.4.43; Saktu in RV., X.71.2 (Saktum-iva titaunā punanto) Karambha in RV., 1.187.10 ; III.52. 1 ; VI.56.1 & VIII. 91, 2-3, and in VS, XIX, 21 ; TS, III, 1, 10, 2 and ŚB, II.5. 2.14 & Ait. Br. VIII. 6
17. TS, vi.2.5.2 ; KS, XI, 2 ; Ṭār. ii,8.8
18. TS, V.4.3.2
19. II, p.187
20. 18, 12
21. V.2.1.6 & XII, 7.1.2
22. J. of the Gujarat Res. Soc. vol. XXI, No. 4/ 84-"Culture of Maheshwara and Nāvdā Toli" by H. D. Sankalia, p. 332
23. Anc. India, Nos. X and XI (1954-55) p. 129
24. V.53.13 ; cf. also VI. 13.4 "dhānyaṃ"
25. AV., vi, 140.2 ; viii, 7.20 and ix, 6, 14 ; TS., vii, 2, 103 ; KS, x.6 & xi.5 ; MS., iii. 10.2 ; VS, 18, 12 ; AB., ii, 8, 7 ; 11.12. ŚB, V.5.5.9 and Bṛh. Upa. vi 3.22 Chānd. Upa. iii, 14,3
26. 1.8.10
27. V.3, 3, 6
28. 1.8.10
29. vi, 3.22
30. V.3.3.2
31. 'Kṣīrapākamodanam in RV. viii.77, 10 ; AV., IV.14, 7 ; XIII, 2, 20 ; SB, II, 5, 3.4 ; Bṛh. Up. VI. 4, 15 & 17-18 ; Śāñkh. Ar., XII, 8 mentioning ghṛtoudana, mudgaudana and māṃsaudana
32. TS., iii, 1, 10, 1 ; KS; 34, 11 ; VS, 19,21-22 & AB, ii, 24 and TB, i, 5, 11; 2
33. MS, iii, 11, 2 ; VS, XIX, 13, 81, & XXI,

42 ; ŚB, xii, 8, 2, 7 & TB, ii, 6, 4, explained by Sāyaṇa as "lājā vrīhiprabhavāḥ puspavad-vikasitāḥ".
34. Lāja-maṇḍa in AV., V.5.1
35. VS, 18, 12 ; TS, V. 1.8.1 ; MS, IV.3.2 ; AV., XII, 2, 53 & ŚB, 1, 1, 1, 10 and Bṛh. Upa. VI.3,22
36. VS, 18,12
37. VS, 18, 12 & Bṛh. Upa, VI.3.22
38. Chān. Upa, 1.10.2
39. IV.34.1
40. V.2
41. RV., 1.164, 28 ; ii, 14, 10 IV.3, 9 ; 'Kṣīra' in 1.164.7 & viii, 2.9 ; V.85.2 ; X, 30, 13 ; AV., iv, 11, 4 ; xii, 1, 10 ; VS, IV.3
42. RV., 1, 153, 4 (pay-RV, 1, 164,7 (Kṣira-asa Uṣriyāyāḥ) and RV., II 164, 7 (Kṣīramgāvo)
43. RV., V.29, 7 & viii. 77.10 (śataṃ mahiṣān-kṣīrapākam 'odanan'
44. TS, IV.1.6.1 & V, 1, 7, 4 & ŚB, XIV, 1, 2, 13
45. RV. II, 41, 3 (Śukrasyādya gavāśira. . . .)
46. AV., IX, 4, 4
47. II, 5, 3, 3
48. iii, 3, 3, 2
49. ii, 7, 6, 2
50. iii, 3, 3, 2 (śaraḥ, dadhi, ātañchana, navanīta, ghṛta and āmikṣā)
51. ŚB, ix.5.1.1 and KB, VIII.9
52. AV, III.12.7 & IV.34. 6 ; TS, II, 5, 3, 4; ŚB, XIV, 1, 2, 12
53. RV.1.5.5 & VII, 32. 4
54. RV., X.90.8 ; TS, iii, 2, 6, 2 ; vi, 3, 9; 6 ; ŚB, ii, 5, 2, 41
55. AV., X.9.13, TS, ii, 5, 5, 4, iii, 3; 9 2 ; MS, ii, 1, 9 ; VS, xix; 21, 23 ; ŚB, 1, 8, 1, 7 & 9, iii, 3, 3, 2 ; TĀr; ii, 88 ; Jaim. Upa. II, 438 Chānd, Upa, viii, 8, 5
56. TS, 1, 6, 3, 10 ; VS; xix, 21, 23, ŚB, ii, 4, 4, 21, iii; 3; 3; 2
57. IV, 1.6
58. RV., X.29.6
59. AV, X.9.25
60. VIII, 19.5
61. I, 187, 8-10
62. RV., VIII, 43, 11
63. X.85.13
64. RV., X.16.4
65. RV., vi, 17, 11 ; VIII, 12, 8 and X.91.14
66. AV., III, 21, 6 ; TS, 1, 3, 14, 7 ŚB, III 4, 1, 2 & Ait. Br. III, 4, 15
67. Ved. Ind., I p 15 ; cf. Bloomfield, Amer. J. of Philology, 17, 426
68. III.13.18
69. RV., 1.162, 11 and 13
70. VI.4.18
71. iii, 14, 13
72. TS, V, 5, 15, 1 & VS, 24, 32
73. X.4.19
74. V.5.13.1
75. 24.21 & 35
76. 1.8.1.4
77. X.68.8 ; cf. VI II, p. 121

78. IV.3.18
79. XX, 136, 1
80. 23, 28
81. V.19.5 & XII, 4.38
82. 1.164.40 (Aghnye)
83. VIII.4.8
84. XVIII.4.22
85. i, 55.2
86. xi, 5, 4, 18
87. 1.34.5 ; MS, iii, 7, 9 ; VS, 25, 1 ; TS, vii, 3, 16, 1
88. ŚB, II, 2, 3, 13 (Yavamayamapūpam) and II, 2, 3, 12 (Vrīhimayamapūpam)
89. AV, VII, 76, 1 ; ŚB, V. 2, 1, 16 ; Bṛh. Upa. ii, 4, 12 ; Chān. Upa. Iv, 17, 7 & Gopatha Brāh, I, 14
90. IV.17.7
91. VI, 109
92. XII, 24.2
93. AV., ii, 8, 3 ; iv, 7; 3 ; vi, 140. 2 ; VS, 18, 12 ; TS, vii, 2, 10, 2 and ŚB, IX.1.1.3
94. XX, 136, 16
95. 1.7.2
96. III.14.3
97. vi, 4.17
98. x.97
99. x.97.4
100. X.97.15
101. X.146.5
102. ŚB, V.4.10 ; X.5.4.22 ; VS, xix, 22-23 ; MS, III, 11, 2
103. AV., XX, 136.13 & MS, III.9.3 and ŚB, XIII,4,4.8
104. Ks, XI, 10 ; TS, II 4, 9, 2
105. ŚB, XIV, 7. 1. 41
106. Jaim, Up. Br, 1.38.6 ; Chānd. Upa, VII, 3.1
107. RV., VII, 59.12 ; AV. VI, 14.2 MS, 1.10.4 ; TS, 1.8.62 & VS, III. 60
108. RV., iii, 48.2 ; V. 36. 2 ; X.34.1 (somasyeva Maujavatasya) & Nir. ix.8
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110. IX.65.6
111. RV., 1.83.6 & 1.28.4
112. RV., IX.67.28
113. RV., IX.12.5
114. RV., IX.23.3 ; 61, 13 ; 82.2 ; and 1.19.9
115. RV., VI 47.1
116. RV., VIII.2.12
117. IV.34.6
118. Ch. 37.4
119. VII.86,6
120. VI.70.1
121. XIII.2
122. V.11.5
123. III.12.7 ; XX.127, 8-9 ŚB. V.1.2.14
124. AV., IV.11, 10 ; IV. 266
125. V.1.2.14
126. VS, xix, 14, 82 ; MS, iii, 11, 2, 9 ; and TB, ii, 6, 11, 4
127. XIX.1, 20-22
128. II, 6, 11, 3
129. 1.5.17.21
130. VI.2.70
131. IV.2.99
132. Kātyā. ŚS. XIV, 1.14
133. XIII.2
134. II.25
135. AV., 1.4.4 (apsvantar-amṛtam-apsubheṣajam), TB, 1.7, 6, 3 and AB, VIII.4
136. xix.2.1-5
137. II.1.1.15
138. xix.2.12

139. 1.61.7(muṣāyad-Viṣṇuh pachatam), X. 71.2 (saktum-iva titaunā punanto) and IX.112.3 (upala-prakṣiṇī nanā)
140. AV., VI.119.2 (pakva), ŚB. 1.5, 1, 26 and Āpas. Ś. S., 1. 25.4 and Āśva. Gr. S., II.1.4-5
141. TS, II, 5, 1, 5-6
142. KS, 31.2
143. PB, XII, 3
144. Kauṣ. Brā. XII.1.3
145. 1.187.2
146. VII, 29, Beng. edi- 34.1
147. VII.6.5
148. IX, 6
149. X.117.2 and 6
150. XII, 1, 3, 4
151. i, 11, 2
152. II, 4, 2, 6
153. VI.30.3
154. X.5.2.9
155. ŚB, 1.9.2.12
156. VII.29
157. RV., X, 45.9
158. AV., XVIII, 4.22

CHAPTER—VII

AMUSEMENT

i) *Music* : Music was the most important of the amusements of the Vedic Aryans. The frog hymns of the ṚV. refer to the chanting of the Brāhmaṇas. The last three hymns of the 9th Maṇḍala of the ṚV. with the refrain "Indrāyendo parisrava" (Flow, Indu, for Indra) were used to be sung during the period of extraction of the Soma Juice. The entire Sāmaveda is the collection of Sāman-s or songs meant for pleasing the deities. Not only the vocal music, as reflected in the cases, noted above but also instrumental music became popular in the Vedic age. The ṚV.[1] (āghāṭibhirtva) and AV.[2] refer to 'aghāti', the symbal, used to accompany dancing. 'Āḍambara', a kind of drum as also used as reflected in the word "āḍambarāghāṭa,"[3] meaning a drummer, one of the victims at the Puruṣamedha. Karkari, another musical instrument is mentioned in the ṚV.,[4] AV.[5] and MS[6] (Karkari-karṇyaḥ) in the sense of the lute. We come across 'Kāṇḍavīṇā',[7] a lute made of joints of reed and vīṇā.[8] The Ait. Āraṇyaka[9] mentions its parts as 'śiras' (head) údara (cavity), ambhaṇa (sounding board), tantra (string), and vādana (plectrum). "Vīṇāgāthin" means a lute player in the Brāhmaṇas.[10] The ṚV[11] refers to 'gargara', a musical instrument used in battle and also to 'godhā'. 'Tūṇava' was a musical instrument of wood, probably the flute ; as noted in TS.[12] The VS[13] mentions a flute-blower (vīṇāvāda) among the list of victims of the Puruṣamedha. Nāḍī is also used in the sense of a reedflute in ṚV.[14] and in KS.[15] Dundubhi meaning a drum is found mentioned in ṚV.[16] and other Vedic works, used in peace and war. The Bṛh. Up.[17] refers to dundubhi, conch and lute as different instruments of music. An earth-drum (bhūmi-dundubhi)[18] was made by digging a hole in the ground and covering it with a hide. It was used at the Mahāvrata rite. The VS.[19] refers to 'Vanaspati', a wooden drum. The ṚV.[20] mentions another musical instrument named Vāṇa. Vāṇa is also noted in other Vedic works[21] in the sense of a harp or lyre with a hundred strings (śata-tantu), used at the Mahāvrata ceremony.

The RV.[22] (....vāṇasya sapta-dhātu-r-injanaḥ) refers distinctly to seven notes of this instrument. Elsewhere in the Āraṇyakas of the RV.[23] we come across vādana in the sense of the plectrum of a harp. 'Vādita' is mentioned in Ch. Up.[24] (gītavādita) and is also noted along with 'nṛtya,' (dance) and gīta (song) in the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa.[25] Thus from the above survey we may assume that the Vedic Aryans were highly interested in music and dancing. Musical recitation of the Sāma hymns, was the special duty of women, as evidenced by the ŚB.[26] : "it is they, the Urgātṛ-s, that do, as it were, the wife's work on this occasion." (patnī-karmaiva vai te'tra kurvanti yad-udgātāraḥ). Elsewhere the ŚB[27] gives us to understand the women's partiality to music through a legend. Gods won over the goddess of speech (Vāk) by singing and dancing before her. The ŚB comments that "it is to him who dances and sings they (women) most readily take a fancy."

ii) *Hunting* : Hunting was also practised as a mater of sports. "Mṛgayu" occurs in AV. and later Vedic works.[28] The VS[29] and Tait. Bṛ[30] mention in the list of victims of the Puruṣamedha persons living on hunting (margāra) or fishing (kaivarta). The RV.[31] also refers to hunting for recreation and also for gathering food (iṣumān vīro astā), in which arrows were used. Birds were also caught by nets (pāśino).[32] Pits were used for catching antelopes. (ṛśyada).[33] Pischel thinks that elephants were caught by the use of tame female elephants.[34] Horse-racing was one of the favourite amusements of the Vedic Aryans.[35] The swift steeds (vājin) of the races were washed and adorned.[36] Pischel[37] opines that races were run in honour of gods. However, a formal race was an item of the Rājasūya.[38] The facecourse called Kāṣṭhā or Āji[39] appears to have been a quasi-circular one to a mark (Kārṣman)[40] and back again.

iii) *Dicing* : Dicing was another amusement, popular even from the Ṛgvedic period, as reflected in the garmbling hymn. The dice seem to have been made of 'vibhīdaka'[41] nuts. The dicer is noted in RV.[42] as 'leader of a great horde' (Senānīr-mahato gaṇasya) and the number is given as 'tri-pañchōśaḥ', explained as fifteen or fiftythree, according to some. The names of throws in later Vedic Works[43] are kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara, Āskanda and Abhibhū. Kali is another name of Abhibhū, according to

ŚB ;[44] and it is also noted in the AV . The expression: "ayā iva-Deva" in ṚV[46] shows that there were more throws than one. From the Śrauta-sūtras we may assume that the game consisted in securing even numbers of dice, kṛta being a number divisible by four, others being Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali—in which the numbers remaining over after division by four were three, two and one respectively. The number of dice, used, as mentioned in ṚV., noted above was "tri-pañchā-śaḥ". The ṚV.[47] refers to throwing fours and losing by one and thus points to the kṛta as the winning throw. The Nirukta[48] also mentions the same principle. The AV.,[49] however, refers to Kali as the winning throw. The AV.[50] shows that the dice were thrown on the ground. The ŚB[51] refers to 'akṣāvapana', i.e., a case for keeping dice. The throw was called 'graha' or 'grābha'.[52] The gambling hymn of the ṚV.[53] gives us a graphic picture of dicing and of the heavy losses a gambler incurred thereby. The Chānd. Upa.[54] (yathā kṛtāya vijietāyādhareyaḥ saṃyantyevam-enaṃ sarvaṃ tad-abhisamaiti), however, refers to a different process of dicing by which Kṛta, the highest one representing the stake of all ten being won, others of lover denomination submit to Kṛta.'

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. X.146.2
2. IV.37.5
3. VS, 30.19 ; cf. ŚB, xiv, 4, 8, 1
4. ii, 43,.4
5. iv.37.4
6. iv, 2.9
7. KS, 34.5 ; cf. Kātyā. Ś.S. xiii, 3, 16 ; Śāñkh. Ś.S. Xvii, 3.12
8. VS, 30, 20 ; TS, vi, 1; 4, 1 ; ŚB, iii, 2, 4; 6; Bṛ. Up. ii, 4, 8
9. iii.2.5
10. TB, iii, 9, 14, 1 ; ŚB. xiii, 1, 5, 1
11. VIII, 69, 9
12. VI, 1.4.1 ; cf. KS, xxiii, 4 and PB, vi, 5.13
13. 30, 19-20
14. X.135.7
15. 34.5
16. 1.28.5 (jayatāmiva dundubhiḥ) ; AV., V.20, 1 ; VS, 16, 35 & TS, 1, 3.6.2 ; ŚB, V, 1, 5; 6
17. ii, 4, 7
18. KS, 34, 5 & TS, vii, 5, 9, 3 and PB, V, 5. 19
19. 9.12
20. 1.85.10 ; cf. AV., X. 2.17
21. TS, vii, 5, 9, 2 ; KS; 34, 5 ; PB, V.6.12 ; & Ait. Āraṇ. V.1.4
22. X.32, 4

23. Ait. Āra. iii, 2.5 & Śāñ-kh. Āraṇ viii, 9
24. viii.2.8
25. xxix, 5
26. xiv, 3.1.35
27. III, 2, 4, 6
28. AV., X, 1, 26 ; VS, 16, 27 ; TB, i, 5, 1; 1 and PB, xiv, 9, 12
29. 30
30. iii, 4
31. ii.42, 2
32. iii, 45,1
33. RV., X.39.8
34. Vedische Studien, 1, 99-100
35. Ibid, 1, 120 and 2, 1
36. RV., ii, 34, 3 & IX, 109.10
37. Vedische Studien, 1, 172
38. TS, i, 8, 15 ; VS, 10; 19 ; & ŚB, V. 4.2.3
39. AV., ii, 14, 6 ; xiii, 2, 4
40. RV., ix, 36
41. RV., vii, 86.6 and x, 34.1
42. X.34.12 and 8
43. TS, iv, 3, 3, 1-2 ; VS, 30.18 ; TB, iii, 4, 1, 16
44. V, 4, 4, 6
45. vii, 114, 1
46. x.116.9
47. 1, 41, 9
48. III, 16
49. vii, 114, 2
50. VII, 114, 2
51. V.3, 1, 11
52. RV., viii, 81, 1 and AV., iv, 38, 1
53. X.34
54. iv, 1.4.6.

APPENDIX

Here let us scrutinise the Atharvaveda as a source of educational information about the early Vedic period. The hymns of the AV throw light on different aspects of student-life, particularly the stages of admission into Vedic studentship and of its completion and also of its nature and goal:

The AV (1.1) begins with the hymn, used in the ceremony for production of wisdom, meant for the warfare of a Vedic student: "The thrice-seven that go about, bearing all forms—let the lord of speech assign to me today, their powers, (their) sleves (tanū)." Here "tri-saptas" meaning three-seven or twentyone or an indefinite number as dozens or scores of senior scholars were required to be present in the ceremony of admission of a Vedic student when the latter asks the Vāchaspati' to assign to him the powers or spirits of senior scholars, wishing to be "united with (Saṃgam) what is heard" and "not to be parted with what is heard." Thus the Vedic student prays earnestly for the retention of sacred learning. Elsewhere (AV., vi, 108.1) we find the prayer of the Vedic student: "Do thou, O wisdom (methā), come first to us, with kine, with houses, thou with the Sun's rays; thou art worshipful to us". The verse no. 3 of the same hymn is a prayer for an all-round intelligence, i.e., for mechanical, materialistic and theological wisdom, achieved by the Ṛbhus, the Asuras and brahmanical Ṛṣis. Another hymn (AV, vi, 38) may be considered for additional brilliance found in great elements of nature and objective world. The AV. (vi.58) refers to a prayer of a student for glory in his introduction to Vedic study. The prayer "may I be dear here to the giver of the sacrificial gifts" indicates how the newcomer wishes to be in closest touch with the head of the institution where he has got himself admitted. He prays also for glory in "gold, kine, strong drink when poured out and honey in sweet drink" (AV. vi. 69,1) and he wishes that he may speak brilliant words among the people'. (ibid., v.2). Elsewhere (i, 9) we have the teacher's prayer to Agni for his pupil's "Supremacy" (Śraiṣṭhya) ever his fellows (sajāta). The teacher wishes that his student may in his advanced life "speak to the

council" (vidatha). (AV., viii, 1, 6). The hymn (AV., iii, 31) speaks of the teacher's solicitude for his student's welfare and long life. Similar attitude is also found in AV (iv, 9 & 13) and in AV (viii, 1 & 2) which mention all precautions against dangers of life. The hymn (AV., iv) is a prayer for remedy against snakes and their poison and its verse 15—"Hither hath come the young physician" shows how the students received the aid of a physician.

The AV (vii, 105) gives us an exhortation to holy life, It is quoted by Kauśika sūtra (55.16) in the Upanayana ceremony, as the teacher takes the pupil by the arm and sets him facing eastward; and the second half-verse later in the same (56.16), as he makes the pupil turn so as to face him. This mantra; pregnant with significance deserves our careful attention—"Striding away from what is of men, choosing the words of the gods, turn thou unto guidances, together with all (thy) companions. "A Vedic student is asked here with all his companions to stride away "from what is of men" and to undergo the system of education on the basis of "the words of gods". This refers to the prevalence of two systems of education during the period concerned—one secular like history, arts and crafts and the other spiritual, obviously the revealed texts of the brahmanical school. Another hymn (AV, xix, 68)—"Of 'avyasas' (unexpanded) and 'Vyasas' (expanded) do I unite the cleft with magic; by those two having taken up the Veda, we then perform acts" may be taken in the sense that by bridging the gult between edited and unedited literature, i.e., the revealed texts of Ṛgveda, Sāman and Yajus and the popular literature, the Atharvaveda holds an important position as the medium of reconciliation and then the Vedic student recites the Gāyatrī. Thus this hymn refers to differences even in Vedic priestly schools but the Vedic student claims to emulate his teacher by dint of 'tapas'. The hymn (AV, iii, 8) is used by Kauśika (55.17-18) in the ceremony of reception of a Vedic student. The student was desired to be "the midmost man" (madhyameṣṭhā) of his "fellows". The teacher's desire is expressed in verses 4-6: "May you be just here; may you not go away; may an active herdsman (gopā) lord of prosperity drive you hither. do ye, with (your) desires (attend) upon (?) his desire; let all the gods conduct

(attend) you together hitherto (4). We bend together your minds, together your courses, together your designs ; ye yonder who are of 'discordant' courses, we make you bend (them) together (5). I seize (your) minds with (my) mind ; come ye after my intent with (your) intents ; I put your hearts in my control ; come with (your) tracks following my motion." (6). From this we know that students changed school and teachers wanted them to stick to a particular school and that they took so much personal care as to make their pupils his own and to raise them to his own level of thought and action.

The hymn (AV, vi, 40) is used in a rite for beginning Vedic study. It is a prayer of a student for freedom from fear from foes of all directions. It speaks of desire for well-being "for this village," meaning obviously the dwelling of teachers and students together and also for freedom from "the fury of kings". Elsewhere (AV, vi, 48) we find that a Vedic student, while invested with a staff (daṇḍa) is addressed as a falcon, a Ṛbhu and a bull and some scholar takes it in the sense of "ceremonial arming" for the defence of monastic rights. (Vide E. 1.1. in Anc. India by Dr. S. C. Sarkar p. 16). Again the king is exhorted to enter into the city (pur) where "the brahman (veda) ascended with the Vedic students." (AV, xix, 19,8). Remarkable is the hymn (AV, xi, 5) extolling the Vedic student, regarded by Deussen as the mantra "the Brahman-pupil as incarnation of Brahman" which states that "the teacher, taking him (vedic student) in charge, makes the Vedic student an embryo within, he bears him in his belly three nights, the gods gather into him to see him when born". The verse 6 depicts the student as going "kindled with fuel, clothing himself in the black antelope-skin, consecrated long-beared", going "at once from the eastern to the northern ocean" etc. ; and the verse 7 describes him as generating the brahman, the world, Prajāpati, the virāj, having become an embryo in the womb of immortality, and having become Indra, having shattered the Asuras." The terms 'Prajāpati,' 'Virāj' and 'Indra' indicate that the high officials of the kingdom were recruited from the Vedic scholars and the epithet 'long-bearded' indicates that at adult stage the students were initiated into Vedic study.

The Vedic student is also invested with a girdle (mekhalā) by which he gains "thought, wisdom, fervour and Indra's power." (AV, vi, 133.4). He is described as "death's student, soliciting from existence a man for Yama" and he does "by incantation, fervour and toil, tie with this girdle." (vi, 133.3). The whole thing signifies the Vedic student's rite of self-dedication to sacred study. The hymn (AV, vi, 5), put above, also, gives us an idea of rebirth of the Vedic student at the initiation.

From the above survey we may deduce that the Vedic student was initiated into Vedic study at a mature age of post-puberty and that he had crossed the stage of a child. His investitute with staff making him "fearless" and with girdle, adding to his thought, wisdom, fervour and Indra's power and his entrance into the study of the Vedas by choosing the words of gods in preference to words of men and particularly the address of the student as 'man' (AV, viii, 1, verses 1, 4; 6, 10 & 18) and the shaving of the hair and beard of the pupil by the hair dresser (AV, viii, 2, 17) and his wearing of nīvi (inner wrap) and paridhāna (enveloping garment) and prayer for progenw (AV, vii, 82, 2)—all these factors clearly indicate the post-pubertal stage of the Vedic student during his admission.

The student-life ends with a prayer for protection and longevity to all the gods (AV, 1, 30). Elsewhere (xix, 71 & 72) we find that the pupil praises "the boon-giving Veda-mother (Vedamātā)" and prays for "lifetime, breath, progeny, cattle, fame, property and Vedic splendour" before her going "to the Brahma-world" and he worships the Vedas he has read: "Out of what receptacle we bore up the Veda, within that do we set it down". While returning home, the pupil prays to Agni and the Waters (AV, vii, 89) for cleansing him of all the hates, untruths and swearings and also for vital sap. 'The AV (ii, 29) also speaks of prayer for the Vedic student's' length of life, wealth, progeny etc., that is, for a successful earthly life and conjugal happiness. The word 'savāsin' in verse 6 (let the two that dwell together drink this stir-about") indicates the prevalence of the union of man and woman, residing in the teachers' house.

The worship of 'Mother-Veda and shows the prevalence of the mother-cult in Vedic India. Vāk or Veda-mātā, worshipped as reflected in Ṛg and Atharva Veda is the earliest phase of Saraswatī, so popular even today among students. Besides the different blessings, noted above, "by Vedic studentship a girl wins a young husband" and "draft-ox, a horse and strives to gain food." (AV, xi, 5. 18). The terms 'horse' and draft-ox, used here means the cavalry soldiers and the farmers or in other words the Kṣattriyas and the Vaiśyas. That means, Vedic studentship is required to produce successful career for all, brahmins, Kṣattriyas and Vaiśyas. The Brāhmaṇas produced theological and philosophical literature because of their Vedic studentship and the able guidance of teachers. The Kṣattriyas also become successful fighters and rulers of the land and the Vaiśyas prospered in agriculture and trade and commerce, because they were also equally taught and trained in different disciplines by their teachers. The Vedic student, depicted as going from the eastern to the northern ocean (AV, xi, 5.6) may be taken as a Vaiśya crossing over the seas.

The AV (vi. 71) shows how a Vedic student used to take 'gold, horse, cow, she-goat or sheep and Agni is exhorted to make whatever he has accepted, "Well-offered". Thus the alms he received included money, milk-products and meats of various types from horse-flesh to mutton. Here we mark the attempt to control one's "mind being excited at offered or unoffered gifts" (V. 2) and the V. 3 suggests that the Vedic student took food sometimes "unrighteously", obviously by begging food more than what was needed. The Vedic student committed some offences, as indicated by the rites he had to perform for recovery of sacred knowledge (Brāhmaṇa) and of sense, soul, property and fires of the sacred hearth (AV, vii, 66 & 67). Loss of senses and soul might have been due to sex-vices, not un-natural in the co-educational institutions and that of soul and property, due to gambling which was in vague even in Ṛg. Vedic days. Not only students, teachers also were sometimes subject to some lapses. Both students and teachers were interested in wealth (AV, vi, 1), praying to Savitṛ for wealth by Vedic 'knowledge. Teachers were not above sex-temptations. Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra (IV. 2.18) permits

a pupil to marry widow of his teacher, obviously her paramour. From AV (xviii, 2, 47) we know that "thy that departed unmarried (but) assiduous, abandoning hatreds, having no progeny, they, going up to heaven, have found a place, they, shining (didhyāna ?) upon the back of the firmament." That means, some men and women were allowed to lead single life in the Vedic age and such celibratets were believed to have been required with a seat in heaven, whereas those who married and begot child were placed on the back of the same heaven. Sometimes teachers' wives were abducted and their students exercised their spirit of chivalry in rescuing them, as reflected in AV (V.17.5) : "the Vedic student goes about serving much service ; he becomes one limp of the gods ; by him Bṛhaspati discovered the wife, conducted by Soma."

That the Vedic student aspired to prove himself a good disputant in assemblies, where he could charm the audience by his scholarly oration is established by a love-spell (AV, 1, 34) which is used by Kauś. (38.17) in a ceremony for superiority of indisputation in the Aśvamedha sacrifice wherein the ambitious disputant is to come into assembly "from the north-east, chewing the sweet plant and also by another charm (AV, ii, 27.7) :" Do thou smite the dispute of him ; O Indra, who vexes us, bless us, with abilities, make me superior in the dispute." Thus public debates formal no doubt an essential feature of academic life in the Vedic period. Elsewhere (AV, vii, 12) we find mention of 'sabhā' and 'samiti' (council and committee) and prayer for success in those assemblies by speaking what is pleasant and by making all the members to be "of like speech" with the disputant. Another hymn (AV, i.32) shows how people were asked to "take knowledge", obviously of the secret of plant and animal life lying in the atmospheric moisture. This is used by Kauś. (34.1) in a women's rite. Hence women were highly educated and were allowed to participate in sacrifices. The AV. (1.24.2) : "the Asura-woman first made this remedy for leprosy spot" proves distinctly that some Asura-women knew the medical functions of some plants.

ECONOMIC LIFE OF INDIA IN THE VEDIC PERIOD

ECONOMIC LIFE OF INDIA IN THE VEDIC PEROID

CHAPTER VIII

INTRODUCTION

The majority of scholars held that the composition of Vedic texts took place either during or after the downfall of the Indus Valley Civilization which ranged from 2500 B.C. to 1700 B.C., as is clear from Carton—14 determination.[1] While enquiring into social history we have discussed how the Vedic-Aryans passed through different stages from a classless phase of tribal society to a gradually complicated one giving rise to various classes with varied occupations. Studied from the economic standpoint the Ṛgveda, the earliest literary product itself reveals the gradual growth of the Vedic culture with modes of life of Vedic Aryans changing from pastoral to agricultural. The Pūṣan hymns praising Pūṣan as god of cattle depict the Vedic Aryans as pastoral and also in Mitra-Varuṇa hymns we find their pastoral character, as reflected in their prayer for grazing grounds for cattle with rain. In Indra-hymns we have prayers for heavier rains required for agriculture and the Ṛgveda thus speaks of a high level of culture, based on agriculture, which the Vedic Aryans living in 'grāma'-s made a grand progress in social, political, religious and economic spheres. The ṛc[2] refers to such transition from life in forests to a settled life in villages (Kathā grāmaṁ na pṛcchasi na tvā bhī-r-iva vindatī). In ṚV (1.127.6) we have prayer for cattlerearing and agriculture. Elsewhere (ṚV, IV.41.6) we find prayer for cattle and fertile soil for cultivation. The ṛcs[3] (Nānānaṃ vā u no dhiyovi vratāni janānām.....Indrāyendo parisrava" refer to zeal and love of the people for different occupations.

Before going to dive deeper into the economic life of the Vedic Aryans it is worthwhile to bear in mind that archaeological evidences are adequate enough to establish that even

before the penetration of the Aryans into India there was a more advanced culture here in the 3rd millenium B.C., which is called the Indus Valley Civilization. So long as the Harappa script remains undeciphred, the earliest literary sources are no doubt the Vedic literature. However, the Indus Valley culture being urban, as proved by archaeological remains, we may expect that its impact was noticed not only in cities but also in rural areas surrounding the cities like Mahenjadaro and Harappa. Recent excavations in Western India, the Malwa region, the Indo-Gangetic watershed and the upper Doab show the survivals of the Harappan culture in these new regions. Scholars think of some geological disturbances as the cause of the ceasation of urbanization in the Indus plain and the emergence of the new urbanisation in the Ganges valley. R. Thapar remarks : "It is only because the period generally assigned to the Vedic literature coincides with the time of these cultures that this urbanisation is sometimes described as Aryan." The Ṛgvedic people differed substantially from the Harapans. The Harappans were urban city-dwellers, using a copper technology, whereas the Ṛgvedic people were initially pastoral and nomadic. The different stages of the Vedic Aryans from pastoral to agricultural have been mentioned above. The society reflected in later Vedic texts when the Aryans were shifted to the Doab and the middle Ganges valley shows a substantial changes from pastoral to a peasant society with the beginnings of city-life. Some words of Dravidian origin[4] in the Ṛgvedic indicate the fusion of two cultures, Aryan and pre-Aryan. The import of non-Aryan phometics in the evolution of Sanskrit even in the Vedic stage proves that the Vedic Aryans spread in these new regions of north India, settled and mixed with the indigenous population.

In the Ṛgvedic period two innovations (i) use of the horse and (ii) of iron technology, as proved by archaeological evidences like iron objects, horse-bones and trappings and also by literary ones like the mention of aśva and Kṛṣṇāyas in the ṚV produced wonderful result in the spread of Vedic culture among the pre-Aryans. The use of iron in place of copper and bronze of the earlier period and of horses and horse-drawn chariots instead of bullock carts ushred in a new economy in the Vedic age. Cultivation of science like mathe-

matics, geometry, astronomy and meteorology, as reflected in Vedic texts led to economic progress, particularly in spheres of agriculture. Early tribal society is characterized by primitive agriculture, as indicated by slash and burn and the use of digging stick and hoe and joint ownership of land by the tribe. But it was replaced by a peasant society, characterised by the use of plough in a permanent settlement and by the rise of concept of private ownership of land and of trade. The sense of tribal identity was gradually replaced by the identification of the people with territory and social divisions. It may be noted here that plough agriculture was in vogue even in the period of the Indus culture (3rd millenium B.C.), as proved by the excavation of a field with furrow marks.[5] Plough agriculture might have flourished even in the city-life civilization of Harappa because the men of cities had to be fed by the produce of crops in adjacent rural areas. The Vedic Aryans took to agriculture of developed process of ploughing and they had borrowed it from the Dravidians and Huṇḍas, as evidenced by Vedic Lords like lāṅgala and hala meaning plough, Kuddāla (hoe), Khala (threshing) Śūrpa (winnowing basket), ulukhala (mortar and hestle) and palli (a village), obviously of pre-Aryan origin.[6] The socio-economic needs of the people urged them to form a permanent union, either moving so long as their life was a nomadic one, or settled in a particular place where they took to agriculture. Practically agricultural needs faced them to form an organised unit known as 'grāma' Village) as a defence against all hostile forces. Agni in noted as the protector of a village in ṚV. 1.44.10—"asi grāmeṣvavitā." Elsewhere[7] Indra is praised as giver of horses, cows, villages, chariots and even of Sūrya and Uṣas. The AV[8] shows that villages were shelters of men and cattle as well.

(i) *Hunting* : The Vedic Aryans were no less interested in wealth and material pleasures of life, as reflected in ṚV[9]—"Sukṣetriyā sugātuyā vasūyā cha yajāmahe", i.e., we sacrifice to Agni for fertile fields, pleasant homes and for wealth. From the Mahābhārata[10] we hear the same theme—"from wealth spring all religious acts, all pleasures and heaven itself. Without it a man can not find the very means of sustaining his life." Now let us discuss the different pursuits of life of the people of the Vedic period. It is well-known to us that hunting represents

the earliest stage of civilization. Though the hunting stage passed over to the pastoral and agricultural stages in the Vedic period, we find that hunting was still in use in the Ṛgvedic age, resorted to for recreation, for protection of cattle from wild beasts and also for food. From the ṚV[11] (mā tvā vidadiṣumān-vīro astā) we learn that the hunter was equipped with an arrow to be thrown at a prey. Elsewhere[12] (Gauro na Kṣepnoravije jyāyāḥ) the wild bull is referred to as fleeing away through fear from an archer's bowstring. The hunter hunted wild elephants (mṛgeva vāraṇā mṛgaṇyavo),[13] the wild boars having tusks of iron (ayodaṅṣṭrān......varāhūn),[14] dear (......mṛgaṃ na vrā mṛgayante)[15] and other animals. The hunters caught birds by nets, as referred to in the ṛc[16] (mā tvā kechin-niyaman viṃ na pāṣino......) and another ṛc[17] (gṛbhnāti ripuṃ nidhayā nidhāpatiḥ). The nets were fastened on pegs, a denoted in the AV[18] (antarīkṣaṃ jālamāsījjāladaṇḍā diśo mahīḥ). The atmosphere was the net and the great quarters were the net-stakes. The lion is said to have been snared within a trap, obviously laid by the hunter.[19] (avaruddaḥ parīpadaṃ na siṃhaḥ). "Ṛśyada"[20] (Yuvaṃ Vandanam-ṛśyadādudūpathu-r) is explained by Sāyaṇą as a 'Kūpa', i.e., well, but the learned authors of the Vedic Index;[21] opine that "pits were used for catching antelopes (ṛśya) and so were called "ṛśyada", i.e., antelope-catching. The boar was captured in the chase, the dogs being used.[22] The ṛc[23] (siṃham iva druhaspade) refers to the lion cought by ambuscade, evidently captured in a hidden pit. Sāyaṇa[24] lets us know the different modes of fishing by way of explaining the various names, mentioned in Yajurveda. Dhaivara means one who catches fish by netting a tank on either side. 'Dāsa' and 'Śauskala' used a fishhook (badiśa), for the same purpose, 'bainda,' 'kaivarta' and 'maināla' by means of a net (jāla), 'mārgāra' by his hands, ānda' by putting in pegs at a ford and 'parṇaka' by putting a poisoned leaf on the water. The VS (16.27 and also 30.7) shows that hunting was resorted to as an occupation of the later Vedic people, obviously for food and also for protection of cattle from wild beasts. The AV (XX, 126. 4) refers to hunting of boars with the help of dogs. Sāyaṇa explains 'ākhaḥ' of TS (4.11.3) as a pit artificially made for shorting by the hunter. The AV (X.1.30) mentions 'jāla',

i.e. a net, fastened on pegs used for catching birds and beasts. Fishing is continued in the later Vedic period, as reflected in VS (30.8). The AV (VI.16.3) mentions 'nirāla', a kind of fish and crabs and tortoises (AV, IX.4.16 and TS, V.2.8.4-5). Pearls (Kṛśana) are noted in AV (IV.10, 1.3. and XX.16.11) where we hear of the belief of their origin from rain drops and of huge quantity of pearl-fishing, pearls being used for decoration and also for amulets.

(ii) *Cattle rearing* : The Ṛgvedic people were pastoral in the earliest phase of their society. They were still nomadic, changing places in search of pastures. The ṚV[25] mentions the functions of a herdsman who was in charge of kine. Agni looks upon the people of the world as a herdsman watches his cattle.[26] (jāto-yad-Agne bhuvanā vyakhyaḥ paśūn na gopā....). The Ṛgvedic hymns (VI.53-58) speak of prayers to Pūṣan who is said to be the controller of cattle (paśu-sādhanī)[27] playing the role of a herdsman. Elsewhere[28] (abhi suyavasaṃ naya....) Pūṣan is prayed for giving wide pastures. We hear of a good herdsman feeding cattle with grass etc. (Prasugopā yavasam dhenavo....)[29] and guarding them[30] (Yūtheva paśvaḥ paśupā......). Cattle grazed in a wide pasture ground and their calves were tied to ropes[31] (gavāmiva srutayaḥ saṃcharaṇīḥ vatsānāṃ na tantaya-s......). The ṚV[32] may be quoted here for showing anxious solicitude for welfare of their cattle, cows and horses—"Pūṣā gā anvetu naḥ Pūṣā rakṣatvarvataḥ/Pūṣā vājam sanotu naḥ//. Pūṣānnanu pra gā ihi yajamānasya sunvataḥ/......mākī-r-neśan-mākīṃ riṣan mākīṃ saṃ śāri kevaṭe/ athāriṣṭābhi-r-ā gahi." (May Pūṣā follow near our kine ; may he keep our horses safe ; may pūṣan gather gear for us. Follow the kine of his who pours libations out and worship thee ;...... Let none be lost, none injured, none sink in a pit and break a limb. Return with these safe and sound"). The ṛc[33] speaks of the herdsman going to the grazing ground with kine along various paths and returning home (āvartanaṃ nivartanamapi gopā ni vartatām) with them, to the rejoice of all. Elsewhere[34] we find the prayer to Rudra for "the wind blowing upon the cows with healing" (mayobhū-r-vāto abhi vātūsrā), so that the cows "may eat herbage full of vigorous juice" (urjasvati-r-oṣadhīrā riśantām) and "Drink waters rich in life and fatness". (pīvasvatī-r-jīva-

dhanyāḥ pivantva......). The ṛcs (X.101.5-7) shows how cattle were given pure drinking water, poured into wooden cattle-troughs (āhāvan) and (droṇāhāvam), bound with straps so that they were carried easily from the wells to the cow-stalls.

The principal animals, domesticated in the Vedic age were cows, bufflaloes, horses, sheeps, camels and goat. Oxen and horses were used for agricultural purposes. The Vedic Aryans sacrificed milk-products like butter and ghee to their deities and they took milk as their drink. 'Gau' (cow) occurs 176 times in the family books of the Ṛgveda. Cattle formed their main wealth (rayi) and a wealthy person is denoted by the term 'gomat' in various ṛcs.[35] The words like gaviṣṭi, gosu, gavyat, gavym, and gaveṣana meaning battle are derived from cattle. Similarly 'gavyuti' (a measure of distance) in the ṚV VI.47.20 and 'gopā' or gopati in the sense of a king are derived from 'go'. The term 'duhitṛ' in the sense of a daughter is derived from duha, i.e., milching a cow. Besides milk or milk-products cow was used for food and it became the standard of value. Oxen were used for ploughing and drawing carts. Even skin of kine were used for various purposes and hence kine were regarded as so valuable in the early Vedic period. The cow was gifted as a fee to the priests and the ṚV[36] refers to princes offering cow to the deserving. Buffaloes[37] were equally reared for milk, meat and drawing carts. Camels were also used as beasts of carrying burden and so were gifted.[38] Horses were also used for drawing carts and chariots[39] (prīṇītāśvān......), The ṛcs[40] (arvateva sādhunā) refers to horse-riding. Horses were also used in war.[41] (Ukṣante aśvāñ atyāñivājiṣu......). 'Aśvaparṇāḥ' means 'heroes winged with horses', i.e., riding on horses and 'rathinaḥ' means those who were car-warriors.[42] Horse-racing was no less resorted to as reflected in RV, (1.61.15) and (1.145.3). Horses were used for sacrifice and its meat as food.[43] The asses are also found to have drawn the car of Aśvins[44] and sheep were reared for milk, meat and wool. (Vāsovāyo' vīnām......).[45] Gandhāra was famous for wool (Gandhārīṇāmivāvikā).[46] Similar use of goats is also heard of in RV.[47]

Cattle was won as a result of tribal wars and Indra was always prayed for recovering the cattle of his patron chief from

his enemies and the recovered cattle became the common property of the entire tribe as they were distributed among the members of the tribe by the tribal chief. Cattle was also used as common property of a family. The RV[49] speaks of the anxiety of the Aryans for cows and relation between farmers and herdsmen. In the later Vedic period agriculture flourished as a means of occupation of the Aryans but cattle remained the principal wealth of the people. The raid of cattle, depicted in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in connection with Rājasūya is but a relic of earlier costoms. The AV[50] contains numerous prayers for the increase of cattle and for their welfare and safety. A bull and cow are glorified.[51] It enjoins the duty of giving cows to Brāhmaṇas.[52] The White Yajurveda[53] mentions a huge number of animals to be tied to the sacrificial stakes. The TS[54] refers to the sacrifice of 180 domestic animals. The cow was the most important of all domestic animals, obviously for milk, meat and other goods, made of hide, as noted in Brāhmaṇas. The ŚB[55] refers to milk-products. The PB[57] mentions bags of cow-hide. Beef was needed for sacrifices.[57] The AV[58] speaks of animal sacrifices. Beef-eating is referred to in TB,[59] though of course, reverse attitude is heard of in ŚB.[60] Even in this period cow was used as a standard of value, as in earlier days. (Tait. San., VI.1.6). The Yajurveda[61] refers to bullocks used for ploughing and drawing carts. Horses were used in war and for racing.[62] The AB[63] mentions donkeys used for drawing chariots. Camels[64] were used for drawing cars and for gifts. Goat were objects of sacrifice to different gods and they supplied milk and meat, as well.[65] The ŚB[66] refers to the fat of the swine and sandals made of their skin. The elephants were also tamed for riding.[67] The pasture-ground was known as 'Vraja' (Vrajam-ā-paśu-r-gāt)[68] and goṣṭha[69] where cows were taken for grazing. Cows were milched thrice, morning (prāta-r-doha), forenoon (Saṃgava) and evening (sāyamdoha), as noted in TS.[70] The AV[71] indicates how cattle were distinguished by marks of ownership like aṣṭakarṇi (eight-marked on the ear) and sickle-marked on the ear.[72] Dogs were tamed for guarding cattle and houses from thieves and wild beasts.[73] (Stenaṃ rāya sārameya taskaraṃ vā punaḥsara// The terms 'avipāla' and 'aśvapāla'[74] show how goats, sheep, and horses were placed

in charge of these herdsman, while they were led to pasture. Horses took grass in the pastureland[75] (yaccha ghāsiṃ jag-hāsa......).

(iii) *Agriculture*: It was the chief occupation of the pre-Aryan people even in the period of Indus Civilization, as evidenced by excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa about 2500 B.C. The urban civilization of this period was but based on agriculture and trade. Marshall says: "Though little is yet known about the agriculture of the Indus peoples, specimens of wheat and barley unearthed amongst the ruins of Mahenjodaro disclose the fact that both these grains were cultivated." Mackay surmises that "certain large flint implements which he compares with the Danubian 'shoe-last' celts may have served as ploughshares."[76]

The very term 'ārya' meaning the Aryans who distinguished themselves from the indigenous people, whom they had conquered and called 'dāsas', is derived from the root 'ar' meaning 'to cultivate'. Prof. Maxmuller agrees that is traces of this root are found in the names of many Aryan countries from Iran to Erin or Ireland, the word was invented in the original home of the Aryans showing their partiality to cultivation. The significance of the word 'Ārya' is revealed in the ṛc[77] (yavaṃ vṛkeṇāśvinā..... chakrathu-r-Āryāya): (tr.) "O ye two Aśvins: you have displayed your glory by teaching the Ārya to cultivate with the plough and to sow corn and by giving him rains for the protection of his food and by destroying the Dasyu by your thunderbolt." Hence we may assume that the Vedic Aryans might have known the art of agriculture which distinguished them from the primitive people of India. Elsewhere[78] (Daśasyantā Manavepūrvyaṃ divi yavaṃ vṛkeṇa karṣathaḥ) the Aśvins are praised as inventing ploughing in agriculture and offering it to Manu. The AV[79] (Tāṃ pṛthī vainyo 'dhok tāṃ kṛṣiṃ cha sasyaṃ chādhok) refers to Pṛthu Vainya as the first inventor of ploughing in agriculture.

The Vedic Aryans must have known the art of agriculture even in their Indo-Iranian stage, as reflected in the terms of the RV. "Yavaṃ kṛṣ" and 'sasya' corresponding to 'Yayo karesh' and 'halya' in the Avesta.[80] Ploughing, sowing seeds and producing crops like yava or dhānya are referred to in the RV,[81] noted above, with the Aśvins as the presiding deity

giving light and life unto the Ārya. A gambler is warned against gambling and is advised to take to agriculture in the ṛc.[82] The process of ploughing drawn by two oxen,[83] fastened to the yoke with hempen or leather traces (varatrā)[84] and driven with a goad[85] and of sowing seeds in the furrow[86] is mentioned in the Ṛgveda. The AV[87] also shows that the plough was drawn by teams of six or eight oxen. Vṛka, śira and lāṅgala meant plough and phāla and sītā were used to denote ploughshare and furrow respectively. The ṚV[88] sings praises of various agricultural items like śunā, sīra, sītā, phāla etc. "The ploughshare ploughing makes the food that feeds us and with the feet cuts through the path it follows."[89] (Śunaṃ naḥ phāla vi kṛsantu bhūmiṃ......śunāśīrā śunam-asmāsu dhattam). The AV[90] is a prayer for successful agriculture : "Let the plow, lance-pointed, well lying, with well-smoother handle, turn up cow, sheep an ongoing chariot frame and a plump wench." The RV[91] speaks also of the ripened grain approaching the sickle (nedīya it sṛnyaḥ pakvam-eyāt) and the wise binding the traces fast and laying the yokes on either side (sīrā yuñjanti kavayo yugā vi tanvate pṛthak). The cultivators whose fields are full of barley reap the ripe corn removing it in order. (Kuvidaṅga yavamanto yavaṃ chid-yathā dāntyanupūrvaṃ viyūya).[92]

(iv) *Irrigation and manure* : The Ṛbhus are noted as separating dung (ā nimruchaḥ śakṛdeko apābharat)[93] from the other parts, evidently as an instance of manure, used for fertilising the plot of land. This evidence makes it clear to the learned authors of the Vedic Index[94] that "the value of manure was early appreciated". 'Kariṣa' occurs in ŚB[95] in the sense of 'dry cow-dung'. The AV[96] also speaks of the value of the natural manure of animals in the fields. 'Khanitrima' (produced by digging), an epithet of āpaḥ clearly refers to artificial water-channels, used for irrigation in the Vedic period as early as the Ṛgveda and the AV.[97] The RV[98] refers to waters coming from heaven (divyā), dug from the earth (khanitrima) and those flowing free by nature, destined for the seas. Elsewhere[99] the ṛc (yathāhradaṃ kulyā ivāśata) mentions artificial streams flowing into a large lake, evidently different arteries of irrigation-system practised in those days. Indra is praised elsewhere[100] (arṇaḥ pra vartanī-r-arado viśva-

dhenoḥ) as the digger of water channels for the satisfaction of the entire universe and also as the wielder of thunder digging out channels.[101] (Indro...... vajra-vāhu-r-apāhan vṛtraṃ paridhiṃ nadīnām).

Besides these water-channels, wells were used for irrigation, as reflected in the ṚV[102] (Parāvataṃ—Gota masya), which refers to a legend that the Aśvins dug out a well elsewhere and brought it down to Gotama, a Ṛṣi who was lying thirsty in a desert. The 'avata' means a well, in contrast with a spring (utsa). Here the Nāsatyas are depicted as having lifted up the well and set the base on high to open donward, as a result of which streams of water flowed for allaying the thirst of Gotama, like rain bringing about plenty of crops. The ṛc of the same hymn, no. 22 also states that from deep well water was raised on high by the Aśvins, so that Śara, son of Ṛchatka might dring it. (Śarasya chidārchatkasyāvatādā nīchāducchā chakra thuḥ pātave vāḥ). The ṚV[103] tubhyaṃ khātā avatā adri dugdhā madhvaḥ śchotantyabhito viralśam) also informs us that for Bṛhaspati were dug wells springing from the mountain which pour streams of sweetness. The ṚV[104] refers distinctly to the system of irrigation from the well by which water was raised by a wheel of stone (chakra) to which was fastened a strap (varatrā) with a pail (Kośa) attached to it. These wells are described as fair means of irrigation (suṣekam) and unfailing in character. (Anupakṣitam). This ṛc dronāhāvam-avatam-aśmachakram-aṃsatrako śam) refers clearly to the fact that water raised by a stone-wall was poured into buckets of wood and sometimes, led into broad channels. The ṛc[105] (Tritaḥ kūpe'vahito......) states that Trita fell in a deep well and was saved by Bṛhaspati and shows thereby the depth of some wells.

That agriculture depends on rains was known to the Vedic Aryans, as reflected in numerous hymns praying for rains. Indra is said to have fought Vṛtra or the Demon of draught with his thunderbolt to bring down rain. The ṚV[106] sings of the blessings heaped on earth by Parjanya, the rain-god who is practically our protector. (Vṛṣabho jīradānū reto dadhātyoṣadhīsu garbham). Elsewhere[107] Parjanya is spoken of as supplying food to men (yavasam-icchatu) and as the breeder of germ of life in plants, cows, mares, and women. (Yo gar-

bham-ośadhīnāṃ gavāṃ kṛṇotyarva tām). The Maruts are again praised in the ṚV[108] as bringer of clouds and makers of waves on the sea and hence invoked to bring down rains for the better production of crops. Cultivation was indeed a difficult task for scarcity of rain water in the Saptasindhu region where the annual rainfall is at present only 20 inches and it is not unlikely that the Vedic Aryans had to fight for water no less than for cow. Hence a number of prayers for rain-water. The AV[109] also praises the waters with a prayer "This, O water, (is) your heart, this your young, ye righteous ones, come thus hither, ye mighty ones, where I now make you enter." (V.7).

Besides shortage of rain, other obstacles in agriculture are excessive rains and moles destroying the seeds. Birds were also a great nuisance and the farmers had to keep them away from their ripened crops, as mentioned in the ṚV[110] ("uda-pruto na vayo rakṣamānā") by uttering loud cries. The AV[111] a spell against petty destroyers of grain like mice and other pests, may be quoted here :

1. "Smite, O Aśvins, the borer, the Samañka, the rat ; split their head ; crush in their ribs, lest they eat the barley, shut up their mouth, then make fearlessness for the grain."
2. "Hey, borer ! hey, locust ! hey grinder Upakvasa ! as a priest an unfinished oblation, not eating this barley, go up away, doing no harm."
3. "O lord of borers, lord of bāghâs ! with arid jaws do ye listen to me ; what devourers there are of the forest, and whatever devourers ye are, all of them, do we grind up." (Tr. Whitney).[112] Elsewhere[113] we have the prayer of the seer : "Do not, O God, smite our grain with the lightning and do not smite (it) with the sun's rays."

(v) *Property and Land-ownership* : In the earliest phase of Ṛgvedic culture we have noticed what is called primitive communism when the Aryans lived together and enjoyed whatever they gained by fighting with pre-Aryans equally. Obviously nature was liberal enough to provide them whatever they wanted. But in course of time with the increase

of population on Indian spil and with the rise of human labour the character of Aryan life changed itself.

The Vedic Aryans were initially pastoral and so they were interested in common pasture land.[114] Gradually they took to agriculture and craved for possession of land. Cattlerearing and agriculture, both being accepted as the occupation promoted settled life and developed the institution of property. Property was thus initially collective and then individual. The term 'Sva' means one's possession. The Ṛgvedic people defeated the pre-Aryans and looted their property as spoils of war, denoted by the term 'loptra' in Indo-Aryan languages. Terms like rayi, rāya, bhaga, riktha, rekna, paṇa, dhana, apnas and magha, used in ṚV[115] indicates the idea of their wealth. In the earliest stratum of the ṚV when the Aryans were mainly pastoral cow was their property. Gradually 'paśu' meaning cattle including horses (ṚV, v.61.5) and even 'men (ṚV. III, 62, 14) were accepted as wealth and ultimately 'rayi' became the generic term for wealth meaning little plants and food-grains. The ṚV mentions also other moveable property like gold[116] and copper[117] (ayas). By immoveable property we are to consider land and houses. Land was of four types, pastoral, forests, land for houses and arable land. Forests served as natural pastures and in some cases they were used as burial or cremation grounds.[118] They supplied fuel to the people and the Ṛṣi prays "To us herbs and forest trees be gracious".[119] (Tan no rāyaḥ ...... oṣadhi-r-uta dyauḥ/ vanaspatibhiḥ Pṛthivī sajoṣā .....naḥ// and "Saṃ no oṣadhi-r-vanino bharantu"). The ṚV,[120] refers to a number of useful trees like aśvattha, śamī, semala etc. grasses like dūrvā, kuśa, muñja etc. and plants like soma and other medicinal herbs. The ṛc (x.146.6) is addressed to 'araṇyānī' i.e., goddess of forests who is praised as sweet-scented, redolent of balm, mother of all sylvan things, who tills not but has stores of food ("Āñjanagandhiṃ surabhiṃ vahvannām-a-kṛṣīvalām/ prāhaṃ mṛgānāṃ mātaram-araṇyā nim-aśaṃsiṣam"). Big forests are mentioned in AB (III.44) and ŚB (XIII, 3,7,10), evidently of north India. 'Khilya' i.e., waste land lying between cultivated fields is mentioned in ṚV (VI.28.2) and Pischel takes it to be pasture land. Houses were built of timber and mud and so easily perishable. The Indo-European people lived in houses,

as indicated by the term 'dama', found in different languages and 'dama' and 'sadma' are found in ṚV[121] in the sense of houses, treated as property. The ṚV[122] speaks of a gambler taking shelter in another's house and of being tormented when he sees "a matron another's wife and his well-ordered dwelling." Elsewhere[123] we find a prayer to Mitra and Varuṇa for "a dwelling safe from attack" and for "a home, which none may rival". From the above we may assume the rise of the concept of individual ownership of a house and of the right of transfer.

The ṚV[124] refers to the fact that the Aryans conqured the land of the Dasyu-s and enjoyed the same on a footing of equality. (Dasyū-ṃ-cchīmyūṃścha . . . . . sanat kṣetraṃ sakhibhiḥ . . . . .)". The epithets "urvarāsā," "urvarājit" and 'Kṣetrāsā"[125] meaning 'winning fields' show that arable land was the bone of contention in war. Indra has been addressed as "urvarāpate" in the ṛc[126] suggesting thereby the prevalence of an owner of field in real world also. Mandhātā has also been depicted as lord of fields (Mandhātāraṃ kṣhaitrapatyeṣvāvatam) in the ṛc.[127] Indra is said to have helped Trasadasyu in acquiring land in the ṛc[128] (. . . . Trasadasyumāvaḥ kṣetrasātā . . . . .). "Kṣetrāsāṃ dadathu-r-urvarāsām . . . . ." in the ṛc[129] indicates the significance of acquisition of new land by right of possession. The ṛc[130] refers to fight for possession of cows, water and fertile fields. The ṛc[131] referring to measuring of the fields (Kṣetram-iva vi manu-s . . . . .) by the Rbhus with a rod points to individual ownership of land, confirmed by Apālā's prayer to Indra for the growth of hair on her father's head and for the fertility of his field in another ṛc[132] (śira-s-tatasyorvarām). The sense of a separate field is distinctly reflected in the ṚV[133] (kṣetraṃ na raṇvam-ūchuse) and AV[134] (Yaṃ kṣetra chakru-r- . . . . . .). The ṛc (II.15.3—"Sadmeva prācho vi mināya mānair") and the ṛc (III.38.2 " . . . . . saṃ mātrābhi-r-mamire . . . . . ") mention clearly the land-measurement showing separate holdings for different individuals. The AV (VI.137.2 "Abhīśunāmeyā āsan vyāmenānumeyāḥ") refers to two units of measurement, abhīśu, i.e., a rein and Vyāma, i.e., the space between the tips of fingers when they are extended. Whitney of course, means by vyāma 'a fathom'. (AV, Vol. I p. 383). The deity (Kṣetrasya patiḥ) is invoked

as the presiding deity of one's particular field.[135] Hence the learned authors of the Vedic Index[136] are justified to remark that "the system of separate holdings already existed in early Vedic times." Fields alongwith houses (Kṣetram āyatanāni) are mentioned in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad[137] as instances of private wealth. The TS[138] (Aindrāgnam-ekādaśa-kapālaṃ nirvapet spardhamānaḥ kṣetre vā sajāteṣu vā) enjoins that "he should make an offering to Indra and Agni on eleven pottherds, who has a dispute about a field or with his neighbours." Keith takes it to be a clear evidence of separate ownership of land" (TS, tr. p. 147, fn. 1). The forest and pastures were, however, enjoyed in common.

(vi) *Joint Family* : It is difficult to assess whether one had the right to make a gift or sale of land, even if one's ownership is assumed to be true in the Vedic age. Dr. Schrader writes on the nature of the Indo-European family : "Such a house-community consists of sixty or seventy members, who are blood-relation to the second or third degree, of course, only on the male side. At their head is a house-administrator who is indeed paid the greatest respect but who is not to be regarded as the master and owner of the family property ; like the Roman 'pater families'. The family property is rather the joint property of all the adult male members of the household. ....Meals are taken in common. .... When the house-father died, all his rights went to the eldest son, specially were the women of the family, the mother and sisters under his guardianship. This seems to have been the ancient Indo-Germanic system."[139]

Patriarchal system was established in the Vedic society and joint family system was in vogue, when the sons, daughters, and other members lived under the control of the elder. The RV[140] shows the benediction for the bride's full sway over her husband's family. The AV[141] also gives us a bright picture of a joint-family leading a life of love and common interest. The autocratic power of the head of the family is distinctly exhibited by the story of Viśvāmitra who outcasted and expelled his fifty sons and also of Śunaḥśepa, sold by his father Ajīgarta.[142] The RV[143] speaks of a father chastising his son for gambling and elsewhere[144] it refers to a father blinding his son Ṛjrāśva. However, it is difficult to assess the real

state of things from these instances. From the TS[145] we know that "the fore-sacrifices are the father, the after-sacrifices the son, in that having offered the foresacrifices he sprinkles the oblations, the father makes common property with the son." Keith[146] remarks: "The commentator takes this as referring to the fact that the son's earnings are his own, the father shares them with the family, and this seems correct. Sāyaṇa also notes that the son keeps his secretly, i.e., perhaps his ownership was precario, not of right, the parallel to Roman Law is striking and justifies us in accepting the view of the common. Partition of property took place even during the lifetime of the father, as evidenced by ṚV,[147] AB[148] and TS.[149] From the AB[150] we learn that one concealing joint property fraudulently was condemned in the society and that sons had right to the paternal property from which they could not be excluded at will. We hear of gift of a field or a village and of king's lands to priests,[151] but at the same time, of a reverse feeling against such land-gift to a priest, as in the case of Viśvakarman Bhauvama. However, houses and land came to be regarded as objects of the individual ownership and hence open to gifts in the age of the Chānd. Up.[152]

In the P.L.I, VL. the rise of kingship in the Vedic age has been discussed in detail and we have noticed how the king's power was limited by tribal organisations. There is little evidence at least in the earlier Vedic literature that the king was owner of land and there is doubt as to the state of things in the later Vedic period. Keith is justified to remark that "the position of the king with regard to the land is somewhat obscure."[153] The AB[154] declares the Vaiśya to be "tributory to another, to be lived upon by another and to be oppressed at will." The reference to the king as to the devourer of his people means only that he had claim of taxing the people; and this power was but a political power and not a right of ownership. Hopkins[155] thinks that "the gifts of land to peoples which seems to be the first sign of land transactions in the Brāhmaṇas was an actual gift of land.," but Keith takes this only as "the grant of superiority."[156] The ŚB[157] states distinctly that "to whomsoever the chief (Kṣattriya) with the approval of the clan, grants a settlement, that (settlement) is properly given." Here we have reference to public

land and to the earlier practice in the Ṛgvedic period when the tribal chief could dispose of public land only with the approval of the tribal assembly. The AV[158] gives us a prayer for the success and prosperity of a king. "Portion thou this man in village, in horses and kine, ... let this king be the summit of authorities." This shows that the people granted some land to the king for strengthening his authority; and this prayer would have been meaningless if the king was already regarded as the owner of land. Keith[159] has rightly pointed out that "gradually the king came to be vaguely conceived......as lord of all the land—in a proprietorial sense, but it is far more probable that such an idea was only a gradual development than that it was primitive." Hence gifts of land by the king may be accepted only as that of some privileges like dues from the cultivators and not of any actual ownership. That is why we find in ŚB an instance of feeling against gift of the king Viśvakarman Bhauvan to the priests who sacrificed for him for which he was rebuked by the Earth himself.

The TS[160] refers to one who desires a village (grāmakāma) performing a particular sacrifice by which he gains power over his relatives or equals. The Chānd. Upa.[161] mentions the gift of a village by king Janaśruti to Raikka. From these we may assume the rise of a landed aristocracy, an intermediary between the king and tillers or producers. The system of private ownership of land and capital and the exercise of freedom of disposal of property resulted in the accumulation of capital in a few hands. The ṚV[162] refers to such capitalist persons known as mahākulas and Maghavān-s.

vii) *Crops*: The term 'dhāna' is found in the ṚV,[163] in the sense of 'grains of corn', sometimes 'parched' used in the making of 'purodāśa' i.e., a sacrificial cake. 'Dhānya' is also mentioned in the RV[164] in the same sense. Vrīhi, used to mean 'rice' is conspicuous by its absence in the ṚV but it is frequently referred to in AV and later Saṃhitās[165] and Brāhmaṇaṣ.[166] Hence Keith[167] things that "rice seems to be indigenous in the south-east of India." The TS[168] states that Prajāpati gave to the hot season barley, to the rains plants, to autumn rice, beans and sesamum to winter and the cool season. The ṚV[169] helps us with the art of agriculture: "Lay

on the yokes, fasten well the traces; formed is the furrow, sow the seed within it. Through song may we find, bearing fraught with plenty; near the ripened grain approach the sickle. Here we learn the use of sickle for harvesting and the zeal of the farmers. Crops were harvested from the roots rather than from the tops. The ṚV[170] refers to farmers cutting ripe barley, collected in bundles. ("Kuvid-aṅga yavamanto yavaṃ chidyathā dāntyanu pūrvaṃ viyūya/"). Elsewhere[171] we find reference to crops being beaten or trampled upon the floor of the granary. (Khale na parṣān prati hanmi ....). The ṛc[172] refers to separation of grain from straw by a sieve or a winnowing fan[173] (vapanto vījamiva dhānyākṛtaḥ pṛñchanti......). Grains were measured by a wooden vessel known as Ūrdara, noted in the ṛc[174] and they were stored in granaries (sthivi). (Yavam-iva sthivibhyaḥ).[175] Barley seems to be the main crop in the Ṛgvedic age and later Vedic period. The AV[176] speaks of a very heavy plough, drawn by six, or eight or twelve oxen and this indicates hardness of the soil, while mentioning barley as the main produce. The AV[177] speaks of the plough as 'lance-pointed', The TS[178] refers to a double crop in a year. Twice in the year does the corn ripen (dviḥ saṃvatsarasya sasyaṃ pachyate). The Kauṣītaki Br.[179] speaks of winter crop, evidently barley and wheat, ripening by the month of chaitra. The rotation of crops was evidently the result of an advanced knowledge of agriculture, technological skill and use of manure and irrigation. The VS[180] mentions a number of crops, vrīhi (rice), yava (barley), māṣa (beans); tila (sesamum), mudga (a kind of bean), khalva (leguminous plant), priyaṅgu (panic seed), aṇu, śyāmūka (millet); nīvāra (wind rice), godhūma (wheat) and masūra (a kind of lentil). These crops were produced and harvested in different seasons, as noted above and hence we may infer that they were produced in rotation on the same cultivated plot or alternatively cultivated field.[181] The AV[182] refers to the sugar-cane (paritatnunekṣuṇā). We find a difference between black-rice, swift-growing (aśu) rice and large rice (mahāvrīhi), while these are offered to different deities in TS.[183] Elsewhere[184] white and black rice are mentioned. According to Bṛhad Up.[185] there are ten varieties of cultivated kinds of grain, rice and barley (vrīhiyavāḥ), sesamum and beans (tila-māṣāḥ),

panicum miliaceum and italicum (aṇu-priyaṅgavaḥ), maize (godhūmāḥ), lentils (masūrāḥ), pulse (Khalva) and dolichos uniflorus (Khalakulāḥ). Plāśūka is found in ŚB[186] as an epithet of vrīhi (rice) in the sense of 'shooting up rapidly'. Godhūma is also noted in VS,[187] MS,[188] and ŚB.[189] Groats (Saktavaḥ), made of this grain are mentioned in ŚB.[190] Tandula in the sense of rice, both karṇa (husked) and akarṇa (unhusked) also occurs in TS.[191] Venu occurs in ṚV only in a Vālakhilya hymn[192] (śatam veṇūn......) in AV[193] and later Vedic texts.[194] The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa[195] couples 'veṇu' with 'sasya' both ripening in spring. Evidently veṇu means bamboo reeds. 'Kulmāṣa in Chānd. Upa.[196] means bad beans (Kutsitā māṣāḥ). Saṇa (hemp) is mentioned in AV[197] alongwith 'jaṅgiḍa' as a remedy against Viṣkandha, the former brought from the forest and the latter from the juices of ploughing.

The AV[198] (Yāṃ rakṣantyasvapnā viśvadāniṃ Devā bhūmiṃ Pṛthivīm-apramādam) speaks of "the earth whom the gods, sleepless defend all the time without failure." So that she may yield honey which is dear. Here we learn that the persons, learned in the art of agriculture looked after the soil with sleepless care, only to raise its fertility. The use of cowdung is also known from the AV.[199] The different obstacles of agriculture are already noted and the Vedic Aryans were very careful to tide over them. The AV[200] is a charm for abundant rain. We have the prayer for various blessings like food, progeny, prosperity and wealth, showing thereby the various aspirations of the agriculturists of the Vedic age. Inspite of all measures, adopted for agricultural prosperity famines were not unknown in some parts of the country, as evidenced by Chānd. Upa.[202] (maṭachīhateṣu kuruṣvātikyā saha jāyayoṣasti-r-ha chākrāyaṇa) which states that the Kuru country was infested by locusts (or according to others, destroyed by hailstorm) so as to meet famine and the hermit Uśasti, son of Chakra had to lead a miserable life with his wife, simply on Kulmāṣa, i.e., bad beans.

We may mention here some labourers engaged in agriculture in the Vedic period. Kīnāśa, found in ṚV and later Vedic Saṃhitā-s[203] means a ploughman. Gopā and Gopāla[204] means 'protector of cows'. Avipāla[205] likewise means protector of sheep from the clutches of their enemies, weolves. "Dhānyā-

kṛt" (vapanto vījam-iva dhānyākṛtaḥ)[206] means men "purifying corn", that is persons engaged in husking. Upala-Prakṣanī occurs in ṚV[207] and it means, according to Yāska,[208] a female worker, 'maker of groats'. (saktu-kārikā) and Sāyaṇa also accepts this view. Roth, Grassman and Zimmer take this word in the sense of one grinding corn. Von Schraeder explains it as "one who fills the lower stone (with corn)", Upala meaning the mortar in which the corn was placed and then beaten with pestle. Sāyaṇa also takes this view as an alternative one. 'Vapa'[209] means a sower of grains, mentioned as one of the victims at Puruṣamedha.

Baden Powell[210] opposed the theory of the village community in India as a landholding institution and tried to establish that the family was a landowning unit. Hopkins[211] supports the theory of individual and joint-family ownership working side by side, the latter being apparently the earlier but the decendant stage. Jolly[212] does not accept the communal ownership of land but believes in the joint-ownership of a family. From the Vedic evidences it is clear that the father was the head and owner of the property ; and his sons, while grown up claimed a share of the property and the father had sometimes to divide it. There is no doubt that the Ṛgvedic people cultivated land themselves, sometimes with the help of the conquered non-Aryans. Land was tilled by the members of the family or clan, may be with the use of slaves. These slaves were not paid any wages, they were not at all hired labourers. We may infer that these slaves were given prizes in return of better services. The Ṛgvedic society in the earliest stratum was practically a commune one where there was little difference or inequality, both social and economic. We hear of slaves or gift of slaves[213] but we have nothing to show that slavery was the basis of husbandry. Dr. Sharma's suggestion that "the whole social fabric was possibly based upon some kind of gift-economy" is commendable. The Vedic people believed in the efficacy of gifts and 'dāna-stuti' hymns also eulogise gifts. Gifts were offered by patron chiefs to their priests in sacrifices and so we may infer that the higher sections of the tribal people like priests chiefs and their assistants in conquests became richer by such gifts. The ṚV[214] encouraged the rich in making gifts of food to the poor also

who are suffering from hunger; otherwise their wealth would be moving like the wheels of a car from one to the other. (Verse 5. "rathyeva chakrānyam-anyam-upatiṣṭhanta rāyaḥ"). The verse 6 (Kevalāgho bhavati kevalādī) warns the rich from being niggardly and selfish by saying that one who is selfish enough to eat only by himself is sure to suffer from sins which accrue to him alone. Hence, we may infer that though slaves' labour was utilised, the Aryans cultivated land themselves and cultivators, artisans and handicraftsmen were not regarded as inferior members of the society. Though there was little chance of social inequality and accumulation of private property in the earlier Ṛgvedic days, the later Ṛgvedic days witnessed the rise of the rich, as noted above, by means of gifts. The Paṇis, according to some, non-Aryans or at least non-sacrificers were condemned for niggardliness and misappropriation of wealth. Not only agriculture but all ordinary works of life were done by the members of the Aryan tribe.

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214. X,117,1-6

CHAPTER IX

i) *Different professions* : The Ṛ̣V[215] helps us to know of the rise of different processions even in the Ṛgvedic age, even among the Aryans, besides hunting, cattlerearing and agriculture, already discussed above. "Nānānaṃ vā u no dhiyo vi vratāni janānāṃ"—this expression of the Ṛṣi is clear enough to show multifarious tastes and trades of men and also their different professions like that of a carpenter (takṣā) a physician (bhiṣak), a priest, and a smith (karmāra). The verse no. 3 : "Kāru-r-ahaṃ tato bhiṣag-upalaprakṣiṇī nanā/ nānā dhiyo vasugavo......" shows distinctly the different pursuits of life like that of a craftsman, a physician and a grinder of corn, adopted by different members of the same family, each desiring wealth. This hymn moves no doubt, the recognition of dignity of labour in the early Vedic society. Each householder performed his own sacrifice and there was mobility among different professions. It has been pointed out that the Aryans, while possessing land, worked in fields with their own hands with the help of their sons or female members of the family and sometimes with the help of conquered non-Aryans. Zeal in agriculture is established in the gambler's song.[216]

The evolution of caste system in the Vedic period has been discussed in the first part of this book ; and it has been shown that at first the tribal society of the Aryans was practically classless and even in the later Ṛgvedic days four varṇas are said to have appeared, as reflected in the Puruṣasūkta. The Puruṣa-hymn has, however, for its subject a cosmogony, a theory of creation ; but it reports for the first time that from Puruṣa sprang four classes of people. Caste system was still in a fluid state. Viśvāmitra, belonging to the rājanya class is said to have acted as a priest in the ṚV;[217] and elsewhere the ṛcs[218] show that Ṛṣis prayed for sons who would defeat their foes in battles. Cases of mobility instead of rigidity of labour led to dignity of labour even in the Ṛgvedic period. Tveṣṭṛ is

conceived as a god who forged for Indra the thunderbolt and hence smiths who manufactured weapons for men were respected in the society. With the development of professions division of labour became inevitable and as efficiency needs specialisation, caste system appeared in the Vedic society in course of time as nothing but the registration of an economic fact, the need for division of labour. The ṚV[219] may be quoted below :

> "Jihmaśye charitave Maghonyābhogaya iṣṭaye rāya u tvaṃ/ dabhraṃ paśyadbhya urviyā vichakṣa uṣā ajīga-r-bhuvanāni viśvā//—Verse 5.
> "Kṣatrāya tvaṃ śravese tvaṃ mahīyā iṣṭaye tvam-artham-iva tvamityai/ visadṛśā jīvitābhiprachakṣa uṣā ajīga-r-bhuvanāni viśvā//—Verse 6.

tr. "Rich Uṣā (Dawn), she sets afoot the coiled up sleeper, one for enjoyment, one for wealth and worship, those who saw little for extended vision, ... one to high sway, one to exalted glory, one to pursue his gain, and one his labour. All to regard their different vocations all moving creatures hath the Dawn awakened." In the fluid state of the society men took to different professions, as noted above in ṚV (IX.112. 1-3). In the Puruṣasūkta we find the first germs of the later caste system, i.e., rise of 4 classes, the social section. It deserves mention that the Śūdras, declared 'a-yajñīya,' i.e., unfit for sacrifice in the ŚB[220] were also recognised as an integral part of the Vedic society, as reflected in VS[221] (ruchaṃ viśyeṣuśūdreṣu mayi dhehi). The VS[222] refers to 'blessed speech' (Kalyānāṃ vāchaṃ=Vedas), spoken to all four varṇas as the means of attaining grace of gods and donors. In the period of the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras these classes were more crystalised and the Brāhmaṇas, knowers of intricacies of rituals were elevated to higher and higher levels ; whereas Vaiśyas and Śūdras, engaged in different occupations were relegated to lower ranks. However, the Vaiśyaṣ and the Śūdras were indispensible for the higher classes, as noted above and as evidenced by TS[223] in which persons of different crafts and industries are reported to be given salutations (nama-s-takṣabhyo rathakārebhyaścha vo namaḥ......).

ii) *Crafts and industries* : Now let us divert our attention to different crafts and industries and industrial labour during the Vedic period. Crafts and industries flourished among the Vedic Aryans probably at the initial stage to impart the agricultural and military needs of the tribal people when they were settled in the midst of hostile people. Special status awarded to Rathakāra-s and Takṣana-s led to the specialisation in such industries among the people. E. J. Rapson[224] comments on the age of the Ṛgveda : "There is some evidence that already in this period specialisation in industry had begun. The worker in wood had clearly the place of honour, needed as he was to produce the chariots for war and the race, and the carts for agricultural purposes." From the researches of Max Müller and Schraeder[225] on the Indo-European ground of languages where we find similarity between Sanskrit and other IE languages we may safely conclude that the IE people knew crafts of weaving, carpentry, plaiting of grass and reeds. Hence it was possible for the Vedic Aryans to develop those crafts and industries, while they were settled in India.

iii) *Weaving Industry* : Sanskrit words 'tan' and 'tanti' (String) have corresponding terms 'tan' in Zend, 'tan teino' in Greek and 'tendo' in Latin, all meaning 'stretching.' The root 'pre' for plaiting in Sanskrit is akin to Greek 'plekō' and Latin 'plico'. Similarly skt √ve' for weaving is similar to Latin 'vieo' and teutonic 'wehan'. Tantumm, Otum and vayanti are used in Vedic Sanskrit for warp, woof and web respectively. We find also words in Vedic Sanskrit Vāya[226] (weaver), tasara[227] (shuttle); veman[228] (loom) and mavūkha-s[229] (wooden pegs) used for stretching the web. Weaving was entrusted to women, as reflected in RV[230] (Uṣāsānaktā vayyeva raṇvite/ tantuṃ tataṃ saṃvayantī. . . . . .) which compares night and dawn to two young women engaged in weaving. Elsewhere[231] we find mothers weaving garments for their sons. (Vastrā putrāya mātaro vayanti), The ṛc[232] (Nāhaṃ tantuṃ na vi jānāmyotuṃ na yaṃ vayanti samare'tamānāḥ) states "I know not other warp or woof, I know not web they weave, when moving to the contest." Here the Ṛṣi means to euloguise the greatness of Vaiśvānara, the threads of the warp are the metres of the Vedas, those of the woof prayers and ceremonies and their combination results in the weaving of a cloth, mean-

ing the performance of a sacrifice. We come across terms vāsas, vastra and vasana to mean cloth in the RV.[233] Others types of garment called adhivāsa, drāpi, atka and peśas and woollen goods, specially of Gandhāra have already been mentioned in connection with dress in the first part of this treatise. We have already noticed the use of cotton and cotton-fabrics in the period of Indus valley civilization, but cotton is conspicuous by its absence in the Ṛgveda. Prof. Muir,[234] however, comments that "it is difficult to conceive that cotton, though not mentioned in the hymn should have been unknown when they were composed or not employed for weaving the light cloth which is necessary in so warm a climate." Ragozin[235] also suggests in the same strain: "The Aryan settlers of Northern India had already begun, at an amazingly early period, to excel in the manufacture of the delicate tissue which has ever been and is to this day—doubtless in incomparably greater perfection—one of their industrial glories, a fact which implies cultivation of the cotton plant or tree, probably in Vedic times already". The same terms like Otu, tantu, anuchāda and prāchīnatāna, veman and mayūkha meaning woof, yarn, forward stretched web, loom and wooden pegs or shuttle respectively are found in later Vedic literature,[236] in connection with textile industry. Vastra, vasana and vāsas are also mentioned to mean cloth in later Vedic literature,[237]. Sic occurs in AV[238] in the sense of the skirt and daśā is noted in AB.[239] Praghāta is referred to in ŚB[240] as the fore-edge of cloth, apparently the closely woven parts at both ends of the cloth. Vātapā occurs in TS[241] in the sense of the part of a cloth which protects it against winds, i.e., its lengthwise border. The ŚB[242] refers to nīvi formed so as to bear two formidable remedies and sometimes consisting of tucking up at the sides. It also mentions 'adhivāsa'[243] (mantle) covering the upper part of the body. The RV[294] also refers to it (adhivāsam parimātū rihan-naha......) where the forests are depicted as the adhivāsa of mother Earth licked by the fire-child. Probably a loose-fitting gown. Drāpi occurs in RV[245] (Vibhrad-drāpim hiraṇmayam), explained by Sāyaṇa as 'Kavacha, i.e.. coat of mail; but it seems to be a gold-embroidered vest, as confirmed by AV.[246] The AV[247] depicts the sun as wearing three worlds, making them a drāpi. Pratidhi,[248] is mentioned as a

cross-piece, a part of a bride's garment. Uṣṇīṣa, a turban is referred to in AV[249] and ŚB.[250] Elsewhere[251] it is stated to have been tied with a tilt and cross-windings (tiryañnaddham). under the name of tincal, and used as a flux in chemical processes."

Woollen goods were also in use, as reflected in VS,[252] MS[253] and KS[254] and also in Bṛ Up.[255] (pāṇḍvāvikam). The AV refers to Kambala[256] and Śāmulya,[257] i.e. blankets and woollen shirts. Wool was already known in the Ṛgvedic period, as evidenced by the ṚV,[258] produced from goats and sheep.

Needles, referred to in ṚV[259] indicates the use of stitched garments. Peśas,[260] embroidered garments were used by female dancers. Peśaskarī, female embroidered is mentioned as one of the victims at Puruṣamedha in VS[261] and T. Br.[262]

Cloth, made of linen or silk was also known in the Vedic period. 'Tārpya' is mentioned in AV,[263] TS,[264] TB,[265] ŚB,[266] Kātyā. Ś.S.[267] and Śāñkha. Ś.S.[268] but scholars differ as to its meaning. The commentators on Kātyā. Ś.S. and ŚB suggest that a linen garment or one thrice soaked in ghee or one made of tṛpā plant is meant. Goldstücker[269] takes it as a 'silken garment,' accepted by Eggeling.[270] By Tṛpā plant we may mean mulberry leaves, suitable for silk-cocoons. Prof. S. C. Sarkar[271] takes the term 'uttuda' of the AV[272] in the sense of mulberry sprung from 'Tuda.'

Textile industry was highly developed in the Sūtra period, as reflected in Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra[273] (Athottarīyam yā akṛntan-na vayaṃ yā atanvata. Yāścha Devī-s-tanūn abhito tatantha. Tā-s-tvayā devī-r-jarase saṃvyayasva. Yuṣmatīdam paridhatsva vāsa iti) which states that "the goddesses who spun and wove, who stretched the warp and who crossed the woof, may clothe you for old age. Blessed with long life, you put on this garment".

Cotton is conspicuous, by its absence as referred to above in the Vedic literature, except in Āśva. Ś.S.; but the Babylonian and Greek names for cotton, Sind and Sindon respectively indicate that cotton was produced in Sind in very early times, as proved by the cotton materials discovered at Mohenjodaro.

iv) *Metal Industry*: This industry of the Vedic period

was mainly concerned with six metals, ayas in the sense of iron, copper or bronze, gold, silver, copper, lead and tin. The last four are found nowhere in the Ṛgveda, but mentioned in the AV and other Saṃhitā-s and Brāhmaṇas.

Gold : Chandra[274] demotes gold in ṚV and other Vedic texts. Jātarūpa[275] is also used in the same sense, 'Rajatajātarūpe' (silver and gold) is mentioned in Lāṭyā. Ś. S.[276] and Śāṃkh Ś.S.[277] 'Hiraṇya' in the sense of gold is frequently referred to in ṚV and later texts.[278] The extraction of gold from earth[279] was also known. Washing for gold is also noted in TS[280] and ŚB.[281] Gold was also won from the bed of rivers and that is why the Indus is called 'hiraṇmayī' in the ṚV (X.75.8). The Saraswatī is also depicted as 'hirṇya-Vartanī ......'[282] According to Schraeder gold was known to Indo-Aryans, as proved by the similarity between Sanskrit 'hiraṇya' and Zend 'Zaraṇya'. In the plural 'hiraṇya' means ornaments of gold.[283] A golden currency, weights of gold, "aṣṭāprud" is mentioned in the KS[284] and TS.[285] A golden 'śatamāna' means weight of a hundred kṛṣṇala-s in ŚB[286] and TS.[287] Gold was obtained by smelting from ore, as evidenced in ŚB.[288] Gold was an object of gift, as recorded in ṚV,[289] where we learn of the gift of ten lumps of gold (daśa hiraṇya-piṇḍān) to a priest by Divodāsa. The AV[290] refers to the belief of the people : "......one that dies of old age becomes he who wears it (gold)..... For lifetime thee, for splendor thee and for force and strength—that with brilliancy of gold thou mayst shine out among the people."

The term 'añya' or 'añji' in the sense of ornaments is found in the ṚV[291] (Chitrai-r-añjibhi-r-vapuṣe vyañjate vakṣaḥsu rukmā adhi yetire śubhe) ; but the word 'alaṃkāra' is mentioned for the first time in ŚB[292] and Ch. Upa.[293] (pretasya śarīraṃ vasanenālaṃkāreṇa saṃskurvanti). During marriage gold-ornaments were gifted to the daughter by the father, as for example, niṣka in ṚV (II.33.10), Kurīra in ṚV (X.85.8) meaning head-ornament, Karṇaśobhana i.e., ear-rings in ṚV(VIII. 78.3). The AV also mentions 'tirita' (VIII.6.7), 'Parihasta' (VI. 71.1-2) meaning 'hand-clasp', according to Whitney, Parīhasta is found in Kauśikasūtra[294] as an ornament used as an amulet. The AV refers to pravarta[295] (ear-ornament), golden amulets,[296] niṣkagrīvā[297] (necklace of niṣka-coins) and Kurīra.[298]

The VS mentions goldsmith,[299] jeweller[300] (maṇikāra) and golden ornaments[301] (hiraṇyaiḥ) like opaśa.[302] The ŚB[303] refers to 'rukmapāśa', a golden chain. The Bṛh. Upa.[304] (Tadyathā peśaskārī peśasya peśaso mātrām-apādāyānyan-navataraṃ Kalyāṇataram rūpam tanute) speaks of goldsmith taking a piece of gold, turns it into another, newer and more beautiful shape. Golden ornaments were worn on the breast even as early as the ṚV[305] (vakṣaḥsu rukmā....). Indra[306] is said to have worn golden ornaments on his hands. (Hastā-vajrm hiraṇmayam). Maruts are also said to have worn golden ornaments like young suitors, sons of wealthy houses. (Varā iva raivatāso hiraṇyaiḥ......).[307] Elsewhere[308] the Aśvins are invited to "ascend the car with golden seats." The Chānd. Upa.[309] refers to properties of some metals—"Tad yathā lavaṇena suvarṇaṃ saṃadhyāt suvarṇena rajatem rajatena trapu trapuṣā", sīsam sīsena lohaṃ lohena dāru dāru char-maṇā", i.e., as gold is joined by salt, silver by gold; zinc by silver, lead by zinc, iron by lead, wood by iron and leather." According to Max Müller[310] lavaṇa is "a kind of kṣāra." It is evidently borax which is still imported from the East Indies under the name of tincal, and used as a flux in chemical processes."

Bodhāyana Ś.S.[311] mentions goldsmith and blacksmith separately. Śāṅkhyāyana Gṛh. S,[312] (modamayīm gāpayeta mahāṃ haimavatīm vā) states that in sīmantonnayana the wife is to sing merrily by wearing many gold ornaments. Bodh. Gr. S.[313] refers to the system of bedecking with seasonal ornaments in the beginning of every season. Āpas. Ś.S.[314] draws our eyes in connection with the Āśvamedha ceremony, to one thousand golden jewels, one thousand silver jewels and one thousand pearls. Kātyāyana Ś. S.[315] enjoins that all priests, the sacrificer and his wife should put on golden chains before the extraction of soma at Vājapeya. The use of ear-rings is also heard of in Āpas. Ś. S.,[316] Bodh. Ś. S.[317] and Śāñ. Gṛh. Sūtra.[318]

Avas : It is difficult to determine the sense of this word, as used in the ṚV.[319] The epithets of Agni as 'ayodaṃṣṭra'[320] (with teeth of ayas) referring to the colour of his flames, and the description of the car-seat of Mitra and Varuṇa as 'ayo-sthūṇa'[321] (with pillar of ayas) lead us to assume that it

meant more a bronze than iron. Ayas is noted in VS[322] in the list of six metals beside 'śyāma' and 'loha'. If śyāma is taken in the sense of black and loha in that of red metal, i.e., as iron and copper respectively, ayas may be better explained as 'bronze'. 'Lohāyasa' in ŚB,[323] lit. red metal is either copper or an alloy of copper and some other metal. Lohitāyasa in MS[324] and KS[325] also mean copper; whereas śyāmāyasa in AV[326] and Kārṣnāyasa in Ch. Upa.[327] mean iron. Ayas in AV[328] means definitely iron. 'Yasyā ayo mukham' in ṚV[329] describing the arrow as pointed with 'ayas' is also in favour of the sense of iron. Schrader[330] thinks that loha meant originally copper but iron later on.

The epithets, 'Vāśimanta', Ṛṣṭimanta, Sudhavāna, iṣumanto, niṣañginaḥ, svāyudhā with reference to Maruts in the RV[331] show the manufacture of weapons, obviously of iron in the Ṛgvedic age. The RV[332] refers to 'ṛṣṭi' or spear, weapons for guarding shoulders and to śipra, helmets of the Maruts. The AV[333] mentions 'āyudha' in the shape of horse-chariot (aśvaratha), bows and arrows (iṣu-dhanva) and corselet (Kavacha). The ṛc[334] speaks of the warrior, armed with bow and arrow on his chariot and clad in armour (varman) and with a guard (hastaghna) on the left arm. Another ṛc[335] refers to coarselet as consisting of many pieces fitted together (varmeva syūtam), made of another metal plates or of some stiff material plated with metal. The ṛc[336] (gharma-ś-chittapaḥ pravṛje ya ādīd-ayasmaya-s-tam vādāma viprāḥ) shows how the singers received the cauldron of metal which was heated for 'pravargya'. Smelting of the blacksmith is referred to in the ṚV[337] (Brahmaṇaspati-r-etāḥ saṃ karmāra ivādhamat) and in another ṛc[338] (......ayo na deva janimā dhamantaḥ) where gods are depicted as smelting like ore the human generations. The RV[339] states again that Agni's flames when the smoke is sent forth, reach the heaven as a smelter fans and sharpens fire. The VS[340] also refers to smelting of iron. The Maitrāyana-Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad[341] refers to the function of a blacksmith: "Even as a ball of iron pervaded by fire and hammered by smiths, becomes manifold (i.e., assumes various shapes, large and small), thus the self pervaded by the inner man and hammered by the qualities becomes manifold."

The smith manufactured abhri[342] (spade), dātra[343] (sickle), sṛṇi[344] (sickle), and phāla[345] (ploughshare) for the purpose of agriculture. Other iron materials were swords (asi),[346] axe (paraśu),[347] ironhook (ayasmaya),[348] lance (pavīra),[349] arrows; spears and daggers (Vāśī, ṛṭi and iṣu),[350] sharp-edged swords (ayaso dhārām),[351] sharp-pointed shafts (parṇino didyava-s-tigma-mūrdhānaḥ)[352] and weapons for protection like mailed armour, (varminaḥ)[353] and helmets (śipra)[354] and anklets for feet (khādayaḥ).[355] We learn also of iron-razor.[356] pair of nail-scissors[357] (kṛṣṇāyasam), iron-nets and fetters of iron (ayojālāḥ ..... ayasmayaiḥ pāśaih)[358] Iron-forts and iron-castles and iron-posts (drupadāḥ) are also referred to in AV[359] and VS[360] and AV[361] respectively. The AV[362] mentions needles made of gold, silver and lead (iron, according to Mahīdhara) meant for marking out the lines on the body of the sacrificial horse which the knife of the dessector is to follow. Iron was also used in amulets, as noted in AV.[363] The AV[364] (ayo-jālā Asurā bhāmino'yasmayaiḥ pāśai-r-añkino ye charanta) speaks of asuras, expert in iron-works and 'āsuri-vidyā' is frequently referred to in Vedic texts, obviously the technical knowledge of iron-industry. It deserves mention that the modern tribes of Asuras in Chotanagpur plateau are still good iron-smelters. It is interesting to note that iron-axes cleared the jungles in Ganges valley and more alluvial land was brought under cultivation in the Vedic age. The use of the plough. iron-tipped and iron hoe helped the rise of production to a large extent and led to the economic development of the land and her people.

Maṇi[365] is heard of as a jewel in Vedic literature, used as an amulet against all kinds of evil. Maṇigrīvā in ṚV,[366] shows that maṇi could be strung on a thread and thus worn round the neck. Maṇikāra,[367] a jeweller, enlisted as a victim at the Puruṣamedha shows the prevalence of the industry of jewellery in the Vedic period.

The metal bowls were probably made of bronze, as evidenced by the AV[368] which mentions 'a hundred metal dishes (kāṃsa), placed on the back of a cow. Elsewhere[369] we find 'Tvaṣṭṛ' making the axes sharp wherewith he fashions bowls to hold 'amṛta'. Bell-metal (Kāṃsya) vessels, made of an alloy of copper and tin are mentioned in Chānd. Upa.[370]

Vessels of brass or pittala, an alloy of copper and zinc are heard of in Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad.[371] Spoons of bell-metal are also noted in Gobhila Gṛ. S. (Kaṃsam chamasaṃ va annaṃ pūrayitvā).[372] Kātyāyana Ś. S.[373] (Kāṃsya-vānaspatya mārtikai-r-abhichāra brahma-varchasa-pratiṣṭhākāma yathāsaṃkhyam) mentions vessels, made of earth, bell-metal and wood.

Silver : 'Rajata' in the sense of silver occurs in TS.[374] Ornaments (rukma),[375] dishes (pātra)[376] and coins (niṣka)[377] —all made of silver are also mentioned. The AV[378] refers to silver amulets bestowing on the wearer "dexterity with favouring mind." The Bṛh. Upa.[379] refers to two vessels—called 'mahimā', one of gold and another of silver to be placed on two sides of the horse in the Aśvamedha sacrifice. The Chānd. Upa.[380] (suvarṇena rajatam rajatena trapu......) speaks of union of gold with silver and of tin with silver. From the above reference we may assume that silver was also manufactured into different articles in the Vedic age. Lead (Sīsa) was much used for amulets in sorcery, as evidenced by the AV[381] which states that it is blessed by Varuṇa, Agni and Indra and that "it is a dispeller of familiar demons." The VS[382] (sīseva tantram......) refers to its use by a weaver as weight. Griffith, however, in his translation of VS[383] comments that lead is used not as a weight but as a charm against demons and sorcery.

'Trapu' : In AV,[384] KS,[385] VS,[386] MS,[387] TB,[388] Ch. Upa.[389] and TS[390] means tin. Its quality of being easily smelted is, according to Roth, indicated by its very name, derived from the root trap (=to be ashamed), alluded to in the AV, noted above.

Kṛśana is first mentioned in ṚV[391] as used in adorning the car of Savitṛ and a horse. Elsewhere[392] the horse is described as "Kṛśanāvato" (pearled one). The people of India believed in the origin of pearls by transformation of raindrops falling into the sea as early as the Vedic period, as reflected in the AV[393] : 1. "Born from the wind out of the atmosphere, out from the light of lightning, let this gold-born shell, of pearl, protect us from distress". 2. "Thou that was born from the top of the shining spaces, out of the ocean..... 7. The

gods' bone became pearl, that goes about within the waters, possessing soul, that do I bind on thee in order to lifetime, splendor, strength, to length of life for a hundred autumns, let (the amulet) of pearl defend thee." and "what the ocean roared against, (and) Parjanya with the lightning, therefrom was born the gold drop (bind)." Here Pischel[394] thinks that the drop refers to pearl.

v) *Carpentry* : The importance of this craft even in the Indo-European stage is indicated by words like 'takṣaṇ' in Sanskrit, 'tashan' in Zend Avesta and 'tektan' in Greek. Takṣan meaning a carpenter is mentioned in ṚV[395] and later Vedic texts.[396] The carpenter made carts (śakaṭa and śakatī) as referred to in ṚV,[397] Nirukta[398] and Chānd Upa.;[399] Chariots[400] (rathaṃ na taṣṭeva) and boats and ships (nāveva).[401] Kuliśa,[402] axe was one of the tools of the carpenter for the making of chariots. (rathaṃ na kuliśaḥ samṛṇvati). The ṛc[403] (taṣṭeva pṛṣtyāmayī) refers to the fact that a carpenter bends over his work till his back aches. Sacrificial vessels were usually made of palāśa (parṇe vo vasati-ṣ-kṛtā).[404] Droṇa,[405] a particular wood was used for making sacrificial ladle, used for pouring clarified butter on the fire is mentioned in the Ṛgveda.[406] Similarly 'sruva', a small ladle was used to convey the ājya (ghee) from the cooking pot to the large ladle and the ṚV[407] mentions it distinctly for soma libation (Somam-iva sruveṇa). The carpenter made three types of bedsteads, talpa, proṣṭha and vahya, referred to in the ṚV[408] (proṣṭheśayā vāhyeśayā nārī-r-yā-s-talpaśīvarīh). The TB[409] mentions it being made of sacred udumbara wood. "Tālpya" noted in ŚB[410] meaning 'a legitimate son,' born in the nuptial couch indicates that talpa was generally used in the sense of a bed or couch. 'Proṣṭha' and 'vahya', as noted above in the ṚV were equally meant for women for their lying down and it is difficult to determine their exact difference. Perhaps "vahya" was of a more comfortable type, as indicated by AV[411] referring to its use by a wearied bride.

Various types of wooden vessels, implements and furniture are also mentioned in later Vedic texts for domestic and ritual use. The VS[412] and AV[413] refer to various sacrificial ladles like sruc, sruva, dhruvā, juhū and upabhṛt. The TS[414] mentions instruments offering like 'sphya', 'vighana', 'parśu' and

'pareśu'. The carpenter made 'yupa'-s (sacrificial posts), used for tying the sacrificial victims even from the Ṛgvedic age, as noted in ṚV[415] (sahasrād-yūpam) and later Vedic texts.[416] We find mention of other posts like svaru[417] and drupad.[418]

The carpenter was also the maker of seats, of which āsandī is widely known. Āsandī is conspicuous by its absence in the ṚV but it occurs frequently in later Vedic texts.[419] The AV[420] describes the seat for the Vrātya, made of wood and also of cowdung; it was covered with a cushion and a pillow, it had a seat and support. The AB[421] also describes a seat for the king at the royal consecration with a seat of Udumbara wood. The ŚB[422] refers to Āsandī, "a throne-seat" made of "khādira wood, perforated and bound with thongs as that of the Bhārata-s". Paryaṅka is a later development, mentioned in the Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad,[423] as having four legs, śīrṣaṇya (head-piece), upaṣrī (soft garment on the couch), and upavarhaṇa (pillow for the head).

Besides, we find mention of Kośa (Kośaṃ na pūrṇam vasunā) in the ṚV[424] meaning a box and bowls (dhiṣana)[425] some of which were decorated with carvings. The AV[426] refers to a seive (śūrpa), a spoon, a stirring stick and the kettles, wooden vessels as domestic utensils. Other examples of carpentry works of the period concerned were the musical instruments like vīṇā, cymbal, piṅgā, gargara and godhā[427] and Vakura.[428] It is worthwhile to remark, that the arts and industries of ancient India were all works of art, as everything was done by hand and not by machines, as today. We find the mention of the word 'druhantara' in the ṚV[429] meaning the destroyer of foes, which may be taken in the sense of a wood-cutter, as reflected in the simile (paraśu-r-na) here. The wood-cutter was then a very useful member of the society, as he supplied wood as fuel to the people and as raw material to the carpenter and because he cut and felled trees with axes, as reflected in the ṚV[430] and thereby helped the making of roads in the country abound with forests. The word 'pathikṛt' is referred to as an epithet of Bṛhaspati in the ṚV[431] and in AV,[432] of Agni and Soma. Carpenters were never looked down upon in the society and rather their works were ever appreciated in the then rural societies for their usefulness in agriculture, as reflected in TS[433] (takṣabhyo rathakārebhyaścha vo

namo namaḥ). Carpenters built also houses made generally of wood, as reflected in the ṚV where Brahmaṇaspati is said "to have fashioned the earth and heaven from wood as carpenters fashioned wooden houses." The AV[434] describes the different features of a dwelling house and the verse no. 24: "like a woman, o dwelling, we carry thee where we will" suggests that the house was made of wood, light enough to be carried, whenever required. The houses were fixed in the ground with wooden pegs, as reflected in the ṛc[435] (. . . . . dādartha Pṛthivīm-abhito mayūkhaiḥ) and they rested on wooden pillars[436] (. . . . . .sthūṇeva janāñ upamidyayantha). The AV[437] gives us to understand the different parts of the house, beams, ties, binding grass, roofs, supported by props and cross-beams, consisting of "thousand-eyed net (akṣu), stretched out as 'opaśa' on the division-line." (Verse 8).

'Ratha' in the ṚV[438] means a chariot, as opposed to anas (cart) and its nave (kha) was greater than that of a cart.[439] The wheel consisted of a rim (pavi) a felly (pradhi), spokes (ara)[440] and a nave (nabhya). The rim and the felly together were known as the 'nemi'. Its axle (akṣa) was made often of 'araṭu'[441] wood and the pole (Īśā or prauga) was fixed at right angles to the axle. The horses were tied by the neck where the yoke was placed and also at the shoulder by traces (raśmi or raśanā). While the cart was drawn by oxen, the chariot was drawn by horses, normally two except in some cases three or four.[442]

Rathakāra as a class attained reputation in the Ṛgvedic society, as his skill was compared to that of a poet (ratham na taṣṭeva tatsināya), evidently because a chariot was very useful for war and also as a vehicle of very important persons in times of peace. As noted above, the TS refers to respectful salutation to carpenters and chariot-makers. The Bodhā. Ś.S. (nedīya enam-ete karmakṛtta upasaṃgacchante takṣāṇa-ś-cha rathakṛtā-ś-cha maya kṛtaścha kulālāścha dvayāḥ karmārāḥ nakhakṛtaḥ saptame) indicates the separation of two classes, carpenters and chariot-makers. In Aśvamedha the carpenter was asked to make sacrificial posts, wooden vessels, carts, mats etc., while the chariotmaker (rathakāra) was asked to manufacture chariots. Chariots were made of śiñsapa wood[443] but the pin of its axle (āṇi) was made of Khādira, wood. The wheels of chariots

were usually made of śalmali wood[444] The AV[445] refers to chariotmakers as clever workers and as one of those who are to be subject to the king, indicating thereby the importance of this industrial class. The Rathakāras had attained social prestige so as to form a separate caste, as attested by VS,[446] TB[447] and ŚB,[448] Hillebrandt[449] suggests that "the Anu tribe formed the basis of the Rathakāra caste, referring to their worship of the Ṛbhus, who are, of course, the chariotmakers par excellence ;" but the learned authors[450] of the Vedic Index do not agree with this view. The Kātyā. Ś. S.[451] however, refers to the rathakāra as a śūdra. But there is little doubt that this class was highly esteemed in the Vedic period for their skill, as noted before. In the later period the Rathakāra was raised to a higher level and regarded as competent to be 'upanīta' and to perform śrauta sacrifices.

vi) *Leather industry* : The word "charmamna" meaning a tanner used in the RV[452] indicates the prevalence of the art of tanning hides (mlā) in the Ṛgvedic society. Wetting of the hide is referred to in the RV[458] (charmevodabhi-r-vyundanti bhūma). Sūrya is depicted as rolling up darkness like a piece of leather (RV, VII.63.1—"charmeva laḥ samavivyak ta māṃsi"). The RV mentions different articles of hide ; bowstrings,[454] slings,[455] thongs,[456] reins for houses[457] and lash of a whip.[458] It refers to skin vessels for storing some-juice,[459] honey,[460] curd[461] and wine (dṛti).[462] The ṛc[463] (ahiriva bhogaiḥ paryeti vāhuṃ jyāyā) mentions leather-guard of the forearm for warriors. Chariots were girt with leatherstraps. (Gobhiḥ sannaddhaḥ asi vīlayasva/gobhi-r-āvṛtam Indrasya vajraṃ haviṣā rathaṃ yaja//).[464] Leather-troughs are also noted in the RV[465] (aṃsatra kośaṃ siñchat anṛpānam). Other ṛcs[466] (Kva vo'śvāḥ kvābhiśavaḥ......na janayaḥ) refer to reins, bridle, saddle and whip of the Maruts. Wardrums are heard in the ṛc[467] (dundubha). 'Charmamna' is mentioned also in VS[468] and AB.[469] The ŚB[470] speaks of the process of tanning, stretching out of a hide with pegs (śañkubhiḥ). The Śvetāśvatara Upa.[471] refers to rolling up of hides. The importance of this industry was due to the use of various articles, made of skin for daily use and for ritual purposes. The religious student (brahmachārin) wore the black antelope skin.[472] Elsewhere[473] the gods are said to have alarmed the enemies by

the drum and the skin of the gazelle. Goat's skin was used as garment by a brahmin priest[474] and also as coverlet for āsandī-s.[475] The skin of the black antelope was also used for covering the āsandī-s[476] and for pressing soma.[477] Tiger-skin was equally used for covering the āsandī.[478] The TS[479] states that "the fire is death; the black antelope skin is the form of holy power; he puts on a pair of black sandals." However, the ŚB[480] and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa[481] refer to boar-skin, used for ritual shoes. Shoes of boar-skin were used by the sacrificer at Rājasūya.[482] Leather-garments were used in the sūtra period, as Pāra. Gr. S.[483] enjoins that a brahmin should use upper garment, made of antelope-skin, a Kṣattriya that of a spotted dear and a vaiśya that of a goat or cow. (Aiṇeyam-ajinam-uttarīyaṃ Brāhmaṇasya rauravam rājanyasya ājam gavyam vā vaiśyasya). The Bodha. Ś.S.[484] (śatam ghṛtam charmāṇi śatam madhu charmāṇi śatam taṇḍula charmāṇi satam pṛthuka charmāṇi śatam lājā charmāṇi śatam karambha charmāṇi śatam dhānā charmāṇi) mentions storing of ghee, honey, oil grain etc., in leather-bags. The Āśva. Gr. S.[485] refers to straps of leather for protecting a warrior's arm against the bow-string.

(vii) *Pottery*: The art of pottery was well-known in India in the Vedic age, as early as the Ṛgveda, nay even before, as attested by the remains of the Indus valley civilization. R. C. Majumdar[486] draws our attention to the results of excavation, carried on during 1962-5 at 'Pāṇḍu Rājar Dhibi' in the valley of the river Ajay (near Bolpur) in the Burdwan district and in some other sites on the Ajay, Kunur and Kopai rivers. The people of these areas used about the beginning of the first millenium B.C. the potteries like "bowls, shallow bowls, basins, channel-spouted bowls and basins (in black and red ware), prumpet or tulip-shaped vases often perforated at the bottom; ...... flower-pots or deep bowls with a flaring rim, dishes on stand, ... ordinary jars and loṭā-s ......etc." The ṛc[487] (abhidu Śakraḥ paraśu-r-yathā vanaṃ pātreva bhindan....) refers to the fact that Indra smashed the enemies like earthern pots as an axe cuts down trees. We hear of women carrying water in their jars, evidently earthen vessels in another ṛc.[488] (udakaṃ kumbhinī-r-iva). Vessels (Kalaśāḥ), obviously made of earth were used for offering soma to Indra, as noted in the

RV.[489] Vessels (śataṃ kumbhāṃ asiñchataṃ madhūnām)[490] were also used for storing honey and also gold[491] (hiraṇyasyeva kalaśam). It is interesting to note that the word 'Kulāla' meaning a potter is conspicuous by its absence in the Ṛgveda and it occurs in the Śatarudrīya hymn of the Yajurveda.[492] The ṛc.[493] (yā pātrāṇi yuṣṇa āsechanāni) refers to vessels for holding meat-juice (Yūṣan) and also to 'ukhā', a cooking pot which is distinctly mentioned as earthern (mṛnmayī) in the VS[494] and TS.[495] The AV[496] refers to earthern vessels more clearly.

Earthen vessels as well as vessels made of bell-metal and wood are mentioned in Kātyāyana Ś.S.[497] ("Kāṃsyavvānaspatya mārtikai-r-abhichāra brahma-varchasa-pratiṣṭhākāmā yathāsaṃkhyam"). Bodhāyana Ś.S.[498] prescribes rules for purifying earthen ware. The position and prestige of potters was highly enhanced in the sūtra period, as Bodh. D.S.[499] mentions that the king invited potters to manufacture bricks and vessels, to be used in Aśvamedha sacrifice. Besides, the jars, cooking pots and dishes for domestic purposes were also made by the potters in this period, as in earlier days, noted above.

viii) *Industry of Liquor making*: The soma-cult was in practice as early as the Ṛg. Vedic age[500] and according to Ragozin,[501] it was prevalent even earlier in the Indo-Iranian period, i.e., before the separation of two great sister races because 'haoma' (corresponding to soma) was used by the Iranian followers of the Avesta. Its importance in the Ṛgvedic period is attested by the praise of soma and its use in ritual in the entire maṇḍala of 114 hymns of ṚV. Mr. B. G. Tilak[502] remarks: "That the soma sacrifice is an ancient institution is amply proved by the parallel rites in the Pārsī scriptures." A drink was prepared from the fermented juice of the soma plant, mixed with honey and milk. The ṚV[503] mentions the extraction of soma for rituals on the banks of the Indus and its tributaries and the Saraswatī and the shores of the lake Śaryaṇāvat in Kurukṣetra. This plant, brought from the Himalayas was the best of its kind. The Ṛg.[504] (somesyava maujavatasya) speaks highly of this plant, produced on the Mūjavat, a peak of the Himalayas. Elsewhere[505] we find its use even by the ancestors of the Vedic Ṛṣis. A regular trade was carried on with soma plant and evidently the

traders were people of the mountainous regions, probably the non-Aryans as suggested by Ragozin. That is why the soma-traders were regarded as lower class people; and specially in the period of Dharmasūtras and Dharmaśāstras they were looked down upon and they were not allowed to pollute any place of sacrifice by their presence. However, the suggestions of A. C. Das that these soma-traders belonged to the non-sacrificing Aryan tribes in Sapta-sindhu, as indicated by the derisive terms of birds and sarpas, applied to them can not be set aside. The ṚV[506] refers to the extraction of juice from the soma plant by its being pounded with stones held in hands (hastachyutebhi-r-adribhiḥ sutaṃ somam). Soma juice was strained through a seive made of wool[507] (pavamānāsa indava-s-tiraḥ pavitramāśavaḥ). It was also strained through the mañju grass.[508] (muñjanejanam). Soma and not surā was prescribed as the proper food of the Brahmin.[509] Surā is an intoxicating 'spirituous' liquor, mentioned in the Vedas. It was, as contrasted with soma a drink of ordinary life.[510] Eggeling[511] thinks that it was prepared from fermented grains and plants; whereas Whitney[512] suggests that it was a kind of bear or ale. Surākāra (maker of surā) is included in the list of victims at the Puruṣamedha.[513] Another drink called 'pānta' (pāntam) is referred to as being offered to Rudra in the ṚV[514] Bodhāyana and Kātyāyana refer to "three articles for the preparation of soma, sprouting paddy, the sprout brought on by steeping paddy in water, slightly parched barley steeped in curds and diluted butter-milk and coarse powder of the same steeped in whey."

ix) *Housebuilding*: We have no remains of any house built in the Vedic period, but we find many Vedic words meaning houses, which the Vedic Aryans might have built when they took to settled life. Gaya is a common term for a house in the ṚV[515] and later texts;[516] so also 'dama'[517] 'dhāman'[518] in the sense of a house and its inmates and also in that of an ordinance or law, agāra[519] and gṛha.[520] Dur[521] means door of a house (duroṇa).[522] Sthūṇā[523] means a pillar of a house. The AV[524] refers to the method of building a house by means of props (Upamit), supports (pratimit) and connector (parimit). It mentions beams (vaṃśa), ties (nahana), binding grass (pranāha), and the sides (pakṣa) of the house. The

roof was formed of ribs of bamboo cane, a ridge called viṣuvant and a net (akṣu). The walls were filled up with grass in bundles (palada). This hymn refers to three parts of the house 'havirdhāna', i.e. oblation-holder, 'Agniśāla' (fire-place) and 'wives' site and seat ('patnīnāṃ sadana') and 'sadas'. It speaks of hanging vessels (śikyā). Posts were usually made of timber but some of them were made of metals like 'ayas', as evidenced by the term 'ayasthūṇā'[525] used in connection with a chariot. A large building, unparalleled among people is also referred to in the ṛc[526] for which the sage saptagu prayed to Indra.

The Dasyu's, i.e., the pre-Aryan people, at least their chiefs lived in cities, built of iron or of stone in the Vedic age, as evidenced by the ṛcs.[527] (i) "tvaṃ śatā vaṃgṛdasyābhinat puro"......, (ii) .....puro vibhindan-nacharad vi dāsīḥ, (iii) ......hatvi dasyūn pura āyasī-r-nitārīt and (iv) śataṃ aśman-mayīnāṃ purām-Indro vyāsyat. The forts of kings had a thousand pillars (sahasrvasthūṇa)[528] and a thousand doors (sahasra-dvāram).[529] Indra is said to have killed the asuras or dasyu-s and to have helped his Aryan worshippers thereby, so that they would occupy the cities or castles, made of iron or stone. We hear of bricks, maṇḍaleṣṭakā[530] (circular bricks), Vikarṇī (cornerless bricks)[531] and choḍā[532] (conical bricks) and bricks were made firm by motar (puriṣa).[533] The rich lived in a house, built on 'foursided roof' (chatuspakṣam-iva cchadiḥ)[534] or in a 'harmya'[535] harmyeṣṭhāḥ), a house including the stabling etc. The sage Bharadvāja prayed to Indra, for a house, tridhātu and trivarūtha.[536] Here 'tridhātu' means, according to Sāyaṇa, of three types (tri-prakāram) or of 'three stories (tri-bhūmikam). Three types may be houses made of wood, brick or stone or of three different apartments, one of stone, the others of wood or brick. 'Tri-varūtha' means, according to Sāyaṇa, houses saving inmates from cold, heat and rains. (Śītātapa-varṣāṇāṃ vārakam). The houses prayed for were built on roofs (cchardiḥ), strongly built (svastimat).

x) *Sculpture* : Though the Ṛgveda shows no trace of image-worship, we may think of some sort of an image of Indra in the RV[537] (Ka imaṃ daśabhi-r-mamendram krīṇāti dhenubhiḥ/ yadā vṛtrāṇi jañghanad-athainaṃ me punar dadat//)

—which means : "who for ten milch kine purchaseth from me this Indra who is mine ! when he hath slain the Vṛtras, let buyer give him back to me." Griffith,[538] however, thinks that this ṛc refers to the case of a poet-priest who demanded a fee of ten milch kine in return to his services to his patron by the performance of a sacrifice. Elsewhere[539] (mahe chana.....parā śulkāya deyam......śatāmagha)—"O Indra, I would not sell thee for a mighty price, not for a thousand, Thunderer, nor ten thousand, nor a hundred" we find a more distinct reference to an image of Indra, saleable for price (śulka). Carved images on wooden posts are referred to in the ṛc[540] (kanīnakeva vidradhe nave drupade arbhake) where Indra's horses are compared to "two slight images of girls, unroled upon a new-wrought post." The AV[541] refers to "a decorated bowl" like a starry night. Elsewhere[542] we hear of a forest-tree compared with "a form well-made by an artisan (tvaṣṭṛ) with a knife." Besides sculpture, painting was in practice in the Vedic period, at least in the later Vedic period, as evidenced by the Kaṭha Upa.[543] and the Maitrāyaṇa Upa.[544] referring to 'pictures' 'painter's brush' and 'to a painted side-screen' respectively.

The RV[545] mentions a barber (vapteva śmaśru) shaving and polishing a man's faces. The AV[546] also refers to a hairdresser shearing hair and beard. Barbers, are also found in the list of victims at Puruṣamedha of the Yajurveda.

Rope-making as an industry is mentioned in the ṚV.[547]

"Yad-vājino dāma saṃdānam-arvato
Yā śīrṣanyā raśanā rajju-r-asya/"

which means "may the fleet-courser's halter and his heel-ropes, the headstall and the girths and cords about him, (attain the status of gods).

xi) *Dancing and Singing* : Singing and dancing as an art was in practice as early as the Ṛgveda, as referred to in the ṛcs[548] ("Gāyanti tvā......udvaṃśam-iva yemire" and "adhi peṣāṃsi vapate nṛturiva") Nṛtyagīta (dance and song) are mentioned in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.[549] Uṣā depicted as a female dancer in the ṛc, noted above. Elsewhere[550] Indra is referred to as 'nṛto' i.e., a dancer. Hence Indra and Uṣā, as noted above, as dancer show that this art was taken to

by both the sexes. Besides, the term 'śailūṣa', included in the list of victims at the Puruṣamedha[551] also means an 'actor' or 'dancer'. The Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa[552] also refers to 'śilpa' meaning singing, dancing and also the instrumental music.

xii) *Physician* : Rudra is conveived of as the best of physicians. (bhiṣak-tamaṃ tvā bhiṣajam śṛnomi).[553] Elsewhere[554] we find that herbs were looked upon as one's mother (oṣadhi-r-iti mātaraḥ) and the physician seems to have been rewarded for his services with a horse, a cow, a garment and even one's self. (saneyam-aśvaṃ gāṃ vāsa ātmānaṃ tava puruṣa) : and the healing powers of herbs are described in the hymn. Indra[555] is again depicted as one who without ligature, before making incision in the neck, closed up the wound again and who made whole the injured part. (ya ṛte chid-abhiśriṣaḥ purā jatrubhya ātṛdaḥ/ saṃdhātā saṃdhiṃ maghavā purū-vasuriskartā vihrutaṃ pusaḥ//). The AV[556] is a prayer for protection with a certain ointment, where we hear of "three slaves of fever , valāsa, then snake." The Asura woman is depicted as "having first made the remedy for leprosy".[557] Elsewhere[558] the little girl of the Kirāta-s is said to have dug a remedy upon the ridges of the mountain. The AV[559] refers to various remedies for relief from flux, particularly the earth of white-ant in the verse 4 (Upajikā .... āsrāvasya bheṣajam). Remedy against jaundice is also prescribed in AV[560] and touch-cure is referred to in AV.[561] Elsewhere the AV speaks of a remedy with a plant for recovery of virility.

xiii) *Charioteer* : The RV[562] mentions a charioteer driving the car, holding fast the rein (raśmīn samayaṃṣta sārathiḥ), sometimes whipping the horses (pārṣṇyā vā kaśayā vā tutoda' in RV 1. 162. 17). Indra placed his charioteer just by his side, as stated in the ṛc[563] (uru ṣa sarathaṃ sārathaye karindraḥ Kutsāya sūryasya sātau) and this helps us to understand the prestige of a charioteer in the Ṛgvedic age. The respectable position of a charioteer is also attested by the AV[564] and VS.[565]

xiv) *Rajavitri* : A washerwomen is heard of in VS[566] and Tait. Brāhmaṇa.[567]

xv) *Kaivarta-fisherman* : This word is found in VS[568] and TB[569] in the list of victims of the Puruṣamedha (human sacrifice). Other words like maināla, derived from mīna, i.e.

fish, dhīvara and Vainda[570] are also used in the same texts in the sense of a fisherman. Fish-eating is rarely mentioned in the Ṛ̣V but it came to be in practice as evidenced by the use of these words in the later Vedic texts, noted above. The Maitrāyaṇa Brāhmaṇa Upaniṣad[571] refers to a simile of a fisherman and corroborates the same fact. Hence fishing was taken to as an occupation in the later Vedic period, no doubt.

xiv) *Ship and boat-building industry*: E. Mackay draws our attention to two representations of boats from Mohenjodaro (Early Indus civilization, Pl. xvii.14) and remarks that boat-building was one of the industries of the people of the Indus valley culture, developed to meet their need for crossing rivers and seas for trade-purpose (ibid., p. 133). He adds further that 'certain markings on the hull of the vessel" suggest that a boat was "made of reeds bound together." Five terracotta models of boats have been unearthed from Lothal. S. R. Rao comments on some paintings on potsherds of the Harappan period that some boats were with sails and others had no sails. (Shipping and maritime Trade of the Indus people, Expedition, Vol. 7, no. 3, 1963, pp. 35-36).

Keith[572] observes: "the use of boats......for crossing rivers was known, but the simplicity of their construction is adequately shown by the fact that the paddle above was used for their propulsion. There is no mention of rudder or anchor, mast or sails a fact which incidentally negatives the theory that the Vedic Aryans took part in ocean-shipping." But ships were built and used in crossing oceans, as evidenced by the Ṛ̣V[573] (anarambhaṇe......agrabhaṇe samudre...... śatāritraṃ nāvaṃ....) where we learn that the Aśvins rescued Bhujyu, sinking in mid-ocean by the use of a ship with a hundred oars. Elsewhere,[574] we have the mention of a boat, 'propelled by oars' (nāvam-aritraparaṇīm). The word 'dyumna' in the ṛc[575] (dyumnai-r-udgaiva tāriṣat) means, according to Pischel 'raft'. The AV,[576] mentions 'nāva-prabhyaṃśana' (sliding down of the ship). The term 'nāvyā' in the sense of a navigable stream is mentioned in the RV[577] and later texts[578] and the ŚB[579] mentions the term 'nāvāja', a boatman or shippropeller. The word 'dāru' in the ṛc[580] (Ado yaddāru plavate....) means obviously a mere dug-out canoe. Though Keith thinks

of no mention of mast or sail of ships in the Vedas, the ṛc[581] refers to some ships, furnished with wings or sails (patatribhiḥ). The ṛc 1.16.5) noted above, refers to ships plying in the ocean which gives no means of support. The ṛc[582] by way of a simile, gives us to understand the position of an island in the midst of the sea (āpo na dvīpaṃ dadhati......). The ṛc[583] (......pra preñkha īñkhayāvahai śubhekam) speaks of the pleasure-trip of Vasiṣṭha and Varuṇa sailing in the midst of the ocean and enjoying swing over the ridges of the waters. The simile in the ṛc[584] (samudraṃ na sañcharane sannṣyavaḥ) as explained by Sāyaṇa shows that merchants, desireous of wealth took to sea-voyages, even in the Ṛgvedic age, evidently for trade-purposes. These references moved even the learned authors of the Vedic Index[585] to recognise the existence of larger vessels with many oars, used for sea-voyages. The Boddhāyana Dharmasūtra,[586] a latter text of the post-Vedic period refers distinctly to maritime navigation. The ŚB[587] refers to 'nau-maṇḍa' meaning two rudders of a ship and thus we may assume the existence of builders of ship or boats of bigger size. Elsewhere[588] it mentions that Manu, the Indian Noah had suggested the building of a strong ship by which he saved himself from the floods, as prophesied by the Fish of the Fish-legend and that when it was built, Manu was conveyed safe to the mountain. The three seas and particularly the sea into which seven rivers flow, depicted as Varuṇa's throat, mentioned in the AV[589] indicate that the Vedic Aryans knew and used them for trade purpose and hence there is little doubt that building of boats and ships was an important industry in the period concerned.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

215. IX.112,1-6
216. RV, X,34.13
217. III.53.9
218. V,23.12 and vi,31,1
219. 1.113,5 and 6
220. iii,1,10 & PB, VI,1,11
221. 18.48
222. 26.2
223. IV.5.4.3-4
224. Camb. Hist. Ind, I, (1955), S. Chand & Co. Delhi, p.89
225. Biographies of words and Reallixikon der Indogermanischen-Altertumskunde.
226. RV, X,26,6
227. RV, X.130.2

VS, 19,83 ;
MS, iii,11,9
228. VS, 19.83
229. VS, 19,80
230. II,3,6 ; cf. AV, X.7,42
231. RV, V,47.6
232. VI.9.2 & cf. VI.9.3
233. 1.34.1 ; 1,115,4 ; viii,3,24 ; iii,39,2 and 1.95.7
234. Sans. Texts, V, p. 462
235. Vedic India, p. 306
236. AV, xiv,2,51 ; KS, 23,1 ; VS,19.80 & 83 ; ŚB, III, 1,2,13f, TS; VI,1.1.3
237. AV, V,1,3 & IX,5,25 ; Ch. Up. 8,5,5 ; Kauṣ. Up. II, 15 & VS, 2,32 ; TS, VI,1,1 and AB,1.3
238. xviii,3,50
239. VII,32 and ŚB, iii,3,2,9
240. iii,1,2,18
241. VI.1.1.3f
242. viii.2,16 ; 6.20
243. ŚB, v,4,4,3
244. 1.140.9
245. 1.25.13 & ix,86.14
246. v,7,10
247. XIII,3,1
248. AV, xiv, 1,8
249. XV.2.1
250. V.3,5,23
251. Kātyā. Ś.S, XXI,4
252. 19.80
253. III.11.9
254. 38.3
255. II.3.6
256. XIV.2,66
257. XIV.1.25 ; cf. RV, X.85, 29
258. 1.126.7 (Gandhāra wool), IV.22.2 (Wool of Paruṣṇī) and X.26.6 (Vāsovāyo'vīnā ṃā vāsāñsi marmṛjata)
259. VII.18.17
260. RV, II,3.6
261. 30.9
262. III.4,5,1
263. XVIII.4.31
264. ii,4,11,6
265. i,3,7,1
266. V.3,5,20
267. XV.5.7
268. XVI.12.19
269. Dictionary, S. V. Abhiṣechanīya
270. SBE, 41,85,n. 1
271. S, A, E, S. Hist. India; p. 62n
272. iii,25.1
273. 1.4.13
274. RV, ii,2,4 ; iii;31,5 ; TS, i,2,7,1 ; KS, ii;6 ; VS, iv.26 and xix, 93 ; ŚB, iii,3, 3,4
275. AB, viii,13 ; Bṛ Upa., vi.4. 25 & Naighaṇṭuka, i, 2
276. 1,6,24
277. iii,19,9
278. RV, i,43,5 ; iv;10.6 ; AV, i. 9-2 ; ii,36,7 ; V.28.6
279. RV, 1.117.5 ; AV, XII,1.6; 26 & 44
280. vi,1,7,1
281. ii,1,1,5 (Saretasam-eva Kṛtsnam-Agnim-ādhatte tasmāddhiraṇyaṃsaṃbhavati)
282. AV, VI,61.7
283. RV, 1.122.2 & VS, 15.50
284. xi,i
285. iii,4,1,4
286. V. 5,3,16
287. ii,3,11,5
288. vi,1,3,5 & xii;4,3,1
289. VI.47.23
290. xix,26,1-3
291. 1,64.4
292. III,5.1.36 & xiii,8,4.7
293. VIII.8.5
294. XXXV.11
295. XV.2.1
296. 1.35
297. V.14.3
298. VI.138.2

299. 30.17
300. 30.7
301. 15.50
302. 11.56, cf. TS, IV.1.5.3 & PB, IV.1.1 & MS, II.7.5
303. VI.7.1.7
304. IV.4.4
305. 1.166.10
306. RV, viii,68.3
307. RV, V.60.4
308. RV, VIII.5.28-29
309. IV.17
310. S.B.E. I, p. 71 n
311. VI.13
312. 1.22.16-17
313. II.10.1-8
314. XX.15.9
315. XIV.1.23-24
316. XX.2.5
317. X.57
318. III.1.18
319. 1.57.3 ; 163.9 ; iv,2,17 ; vi. 3.5
320. RV, 1.88.5 ; X.87.2
321. RV,V..62.8
322. 18.13
323. V.4.1.1
324. ii,11,5
325. 18.10
326. IX.5.4 & XI,3.7
327. iv,17.7 and vi.1.5 and Jaim. Up. Br. iii,17,3
328. V.28.1
329. VI.75.15
330. Prehistoric Antiquties, p. 212
331. V.57.2
332. V.54.11
333. vii,19.2
334. vi,75
335. 1,31,15
336. V.30.15
337. X.72.2
338. IV.2.17
339. V.9.5. cf. RV, IX.112.2
340. 16.27 and 30.14
341. III.3
342. AV, iv,7.5-6 and VS, V.22
343. Rv, VIII,78.10 & Nirukta, ii,1
344. RV, X.101.3 (sṛṇyaḥ pakvaṃ eyāt)
345. RV, IV.57.8 & X.117.7 cf. KS, xix,1
346. RV, 1,162,20 & X.79.6
347. RV, 1.127.3 ; VII,104.21 ; X.28.8, AV, iii,19.4; vii; 28.1 ŚB, iii,6,4,10
348. AV, vii,115.1
349. RV, X.60.3
350. " , V.57.2
351. " , VI.47.10
352. " , VI.46.11
353. " , VI.27.6 & 'drāpi' in RV, IV.53.2
354. " , V.54.11
355. ibid
356. AV, VI.68.1
357. Ch. Up. vi.1.6
358. AV, XIX,66.1
359. AV, XIX,58.4
360. V.8
361. VI.63.3
362. 23.37
363. V.28.1
364. XIX.66.1
365. RV, 1.33.8 ; AV, 1.29.1 TS, vii,3,4,1 ; AB; iv.6 ; Nir. vii,23 & Ved. Ind. II, p. 119-120
366. 1.122.14 ; cf. PB, XX.16.6
367. VS, 30.7 & TB, iii,4,3,1
368. X.10.5
369. RV, X.53, 9-10
370. V.2.8
371. VI.22
372. 1.9.7
373. II,3,5
374. 1.5.1.2
375. ŚB, XII,8,3,11
376. TB, ii,2,9;7
377. PB, vii,1,14
378. V.28.1 & 5
379. 1.1.2

380. IV.17.1
381. 1.16.2 & xii,2,1,19 & 53
382. 19.80, cf. V.1, II,452 & Ch. Up. iv.17
383. 183,n
384. XI.3.8
385. XVIII,10
386. xviii,13
387. ii,11,5
388. iii,12
389. IV.17.7
390. IV.7.5.1
391. 1.35.4 & X.68.1
392. RV, 1.126.4
393. IV.10 & XIX,30.5
394. ZDMG, xxxvi,135
395. IX.112.1
396. AV, xi6.3 ; a KS, xii,10 ; MS, ii,9,5 ; VS, 16,27 & 30,6 ; TB, iii, 4.2.1 ; SB, i,1.3.12
397. X.146.3
398. vi,22 and xi, 47
399. iv,1,8
400. RV, 1.61.4
401. RV, 1.116.5 & V.25.9
402. iii,2.1
403. 1.105.18
404. X.97.5
405. RV, vi.2.8
406. 1.84.18
407. 1.116.24
408. RV, vii,55.8 ; cf. AV, V. 17.12
409. i,2.6.5
410. xii,1.6,2
411. iv,20.3
412. 1.29 & II.20 ; cf. Brh. Upa ; vi,3,13
413. xviii.5 & TS, III,5,7.2
414. III.2.4.1 ; cf. AV, vii,28
415. V.2.7
416. AV, xii,1.38 ; VS, 19,17 ; TS, vi,3,4;1 and PB; ix, 10,2
417. RV, 1,92,5 & iii;8;6 ; AV, IV.24.4 & ŚB, iii,7,1,22
418. RV, 1.24.13 ; AV, vi,63; 3 and VS, 20.20
419. AV, xiv.2.65 ; TS, vii, 5,8,5 ; VS, 8.56
420. XV,3,3-7
421. viii,5,6,12
422. v,4,4,1
423. i,5
424. X,42,2 ; cf. AV, 1, 14, 4
425. RV,VI,8,3 ; AV; xix; 49, 8
426. IX,6,16-17
427. RV, VIII,69,9
428. " , i,117,21
429. 1,127,3
430. X,28,8 ; 1,32,5
431. ii,23,6
432. xviii,2,53
433. iv,5,4,2
434. AV, ix,3,24
435. vii,99,3
436. RV, 1,59.1
437. IX,3
438. 1,20,3
439. RV, viii,91,7
440. RV, 1,321,5 & v,13,6
441. RV, viii,46,27
442. Ved. Ind, II, p. 202
443. RV, III.53.19
444. RV, X.85.20
445. iii,5,6
446. 16,17 & 30,6
447. 1,1.4.8
448. xiii,4,2,17
449. Vedischa Mythologie, 3, 152,153
450. V.1, II, p. 204
451. 1.1.9
452. VIII.5.38
453. 1.85.5
454. VI.75.11
455. 1.121.9
456. VI.47.26
457. VI.46.14
458. VI.53.9
459. VIII.1.17 & IX,66,28-29
460. VIII.5.19
461. VI.48.18

462. 1.191.10
463. VI.75.14
464. VI,47,26-27
465. X.101.7
466. V.61.2-3
467. VI.47.29
468. 30.15
470. II,1,1,9-10
471. VI.20
472. AV, XI.5.6
473. AV, V.21.7
474. ŚB, III.9.1.12
475. ŚB, V.2.1,22
476. ŚB, XII,8,3,4-10
477. AV,XI,1.8
478. ŚB, V,4,4,1 ff
479. TS, V.4.4.4
480. V.4.3.19
481. III.3
482. Bodh. Ś.S. XII,12 ; & Kātyā. Ś.S. XV.6.23
483. II,5,17-19
484. XV.16
485. III,12.11
486. H. A. Bengal, (1971), pp. 22-23
487. VII, 104.21 ; cf. RV, X 89,7—"navaminna kumbham"
488. 1.191.14
489. III,32,16 ; cf. RV, 1.116. 7 (śatam Kumbhān)
490. RV, 1.117.6
491. RV, 1.117.12
492. VS, 16.27 & NS, 1.8.3
493. 1.162.13
494. 11.59
495. IV.1.5.4
496. ix,6,17
497. II,3.5
498. 1.6.14.1-9
499. XV.14
500. 1.91.1
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503. IX.61.7 ; 65,22 & 23 ; 113, 1
504. X.34.1
505. RV, X.14.6 & 15.8
506. IX.11.5
507. RV, IX.67.7
508. RV, 1,161,8
509. AB, vii,29 ; ŚB, xii,7,2,2
510. TB, 1.3.3.2
511. SBE, 44,223, n2
512. tr. AV, p. 207
513. VS, 30.11 ; TB, iii,4,7,1
514. I.122.1
515. V.10.3 ; 44, 7 ; VI.2.8
516. AV, vi.3.3 & 84.1 & VS, 27.3
517. RV, I.1.8 ; 61.9 ; TS,5 II,1,2 & VS, 8,24
518. RV, 1.144.1 ; ii,3,2, ; iii,55, 10 ; vii,61,4 ; AV, IV.25.7 ; VII, 681 ; VS,4,34 ; Tait. Āraṇ, ii,7,2
519. Kauṣ, Upa ; ii,15, Āśv. Gṛ.S. ; i,7.21
520. RV, III.53.6 ; IV.49,6 ; X, 18,12 ; 85,26 ; AV, 1.27.4 ; III,10,11 ; AB, ii,31 & viii. 21.26 ; VS, 2,32 & 4.33, ŚB,1.1.2.22
521. RV, 1.68.10
522. RV, X.40.13
523. RV, 1.59.1
524. ix,3
525. RV, V.62.8
526. RV, X.47.8
527. 1.53.8, 1.103.31 II,20.8 & IV.30.20
528. RV, II.41.5
529. RV, VII,88.5
530. TS, V.3.9
531. TS, V.3.7
532. TS, V.3.7
533. TS, V.3.2
534. AV, iii,7.3
535. RV, vii,56,16
536. RV, VI.46.9
537 " , IV.24.10

538. " , tr. I, p. 427
539. " , VIII, 1.5
540. ", IV.32.23
541. XIX.49.8
542. AV, XII,3.33
543. II,6,5 & 17
544. IV.2
545. X.142.4
546. VII.2.17
547. 1.162.8
548. 1.10.1 & 1.92.4
549. 1.42 (J. of American Oriental Society, 15.235)
550. RV, 1.130.7
551. VS, 30,6 & TS, iii,4,2,1
552. xxix,5
553. RV, II,33.4
554. RV, X.97.4
555. RV, VIII,1.12
556. AV, IV.9,8
557. AV, 1.24.2
558. AV, X.4.14
559. ii,3
560. 1.22
561. Iv.3.7
562. 1.144.3 cf. 1.55.7 ; ii, 19, 6, vi,20.5 ; X.102.6
563. V.20.5
564. XV.2.1
565. XVI.26
566. 30.12
567. iii,4,7,1
568. 30.16
569. iii,4,12,1
570. VS, 30.16 ; TS, iii,4,12,1
571. vi.26
572. Camb. Hist. Ind. (ed. 1955 Delhi), p. 90
573. 1.116.5 ; cf. VS, 21,7
574. RV, X,101,2
575. VIII,19.14 cf. Ved. Ind. I,382
576. XIX, 39.8
577. 1.33.11
578. AV, viii,5,9 ; KS, xxiii,6 & ŚB, X,5,4,14
579. ii,3,3,5
580. RV, X,155,3
581. " , X,143,5
582. " , 1.169.3
583. " , VII.88.3
584. " , I,56.2
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586. i,2,4 ; ii,2,2
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588. 1,8,1,1-10
589. XIX,27,4 & XX,92,9.

CHAPTER X

i) *Trade and commerce*: Let us enquire into 'India's relationship with the Western countries, during and even before the days of Vedic Culture. Dr. Sayce[590] has established trade-relationship between India and Babylon as early as 300 B.C. H.G. Rawlinson[591] traces the trade-relation between the Indus-Valley and the Eupharates from ancient times, one of the earliest records being mantained in the Cuneiform inscriptions of the Hittlte Kings of Mitanni in Kappadokia, belonging to 14th or 15th century B.C., discovered by Prof. H. Winckler at Boghozkai in 1907, mentioning Aryan names of Hittite Kings who had worshipped Vedic gods like Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa and Nāsatya. Hence this record may be taken as early as the Vedic period. Dr. Sayce suggests on the basis of the use of the word 'sindhu' for muslin in an old Babylonian list of clothes that "there was trade between the Babylonians and the people who spoke an Āryan dialect and lived in the country watered by the Indus." It is an interesting question how India was affected by her contact with the Babylonians and Assyrians in the prehistoric days. Buhler[592] says that the Brāhmī script of India was derived from Semitic sources, probably about the 7th century B.C. The myth of the Fish incarnation of Viṣṇu in ŚB, found also in Avesta is reminiscent of the Babylonian stories of the flood. It deserves mention that a destructive flood took place in Sumerian towns about 3200 B.C. and the famous story of the Deluge was first incised in Babylonian on 30 bricks, now deposited in British Museum. This story finds a close parallel in the Book of Genesis of the Old Testament and was borrowed by the Hebrews from either Babylonians or Sumerians. The ŚB might have borrowed it from the Assyerians, as it mentions 'Asara-brāhmaṇa's (Assyrian priests), called by Manu to officiate at the sacrifice he was to perform. The division of the sky into 24 nakṣatra-s and also the naming of seven days of the week after the Sun, the moon, and five other planets may be traced to Babylonian origin. Rawlinson,[593] however, suggests that these names might have been "borrowed directly from Alexandria by the Indians," as these are only mentioned in later astronomical works. The

relation between the earliest Indian and Babylonian weights and measures may be assumed by the word 'manā' in ṚV[594] (sachā manā hiraṇyayā) which "seems to designate some ornaments or possibly a weight, compared with the Greek uvā and the Latin mina. All three words have been considered semetic in origin, as borrowed from the Phoenicians in the case of Greece, from Carthage in the case of Rome and from Babylon in the case of India."[595]

About the 18th century B.C. the Kassites (some Aryan people) ruled over Babylonia and the names of rulers like Surias and Maruttas resemble the names of Vedic gods. The Kassites and the Mitannis may be taken to be referred to as Kasis and Mitajñu in the Ṛgveda. Kikkuli, the Mitanni in his book on chariot-racing used the numbers, oika, tera, panza, satt and na, obviously the Iranian bases for Sanskrit numbers like eka, tri, pañcha, sapta and nava. N. D. Mironov equates names and words like Swardata, Subandhu, Satuara and others with Ṛgvedic names like Svartata, Subandhu, Satvara etc. Hence we may assume a close relationship between India and these regions of the Near East in or before the Vedic period. Some scholar thinks that the Kassites, the Aryan tribe penetrated into the Euphrates-Tigris valley, uprooted the Babylonian empire and established their rule there about the middle of the 18th century B.C. almost about the period when the Aryans came to India through the Hinduskush.

Tilak[596] dwelt on a few words of ṚV and AV to show their origin in the Sumero-Babylonian context. Words like 'turphari', 'jurphari', 'āligī', 'viligī', 'Urugulā', 'taimāta', 'tābuvam' (taboo) and 'Yahve' of the Vedic texts belong to Sumero-Babylonian traditions. All these terms are used in Vedic texts as a charm against snake-bite. An inscribed tablet, unearthed at Ur, the famous Sumerian city mentions names of two kings, Elulu and Belulu. Urugulu in Sumerian means the physician of the city of Ur, a specialist in the poison of snake-bite. Hence 'Urugula' of the Vedic text as a charm reminds us of the Urugula of Ur.

It is interesting to note that the Persian Gulf trade was at first mainly in the hands of the Chaldeans, the people, used to piracy ; but they were exterminated in 694 B.C. by Senacherib, the Assyrian ruler with the help of a great fleet, built

upon the Tigris. A tablet of Senacherib refers to cotton, imported from India. The trade of the Persian gulf next fell into the hands of the Phoenicians who, according to Justin,[597] had settled in the Babylonian marshes, being ousted from their homeland by earthquake. Their activities on the Bahrein island at the mouth of the Persian gulf are proved by remains or relics, unearthed by excavations. Their volume of trade may be indicated by the prophecy of the prophet Egekiel[598] about the overthrow of the great city of Tyre in 573 B.C. by Neluchadnazzar II. Herodotus also refers to the Phoenician ships as "taking to long voyages loading their ships with Assyrian and Egyptian wares." In 606 B.C. the Assyrian empire fell and Babylon took the place of Ninevah as queen of Western Asia. Rawlinson[599] says : "In the crowded market-places of that great city met the races of the world, Ionian traders, Jewish captives, Phoenician merchants from distant Tarshis and Indians from the Punjab who came to sell their wares." The intercourse between India and the Semitic nations was carried on, preferably by sea, the land-route being insurmountable and more dangerous. An axe-head of white jade, available only in China has been found in the second city of Troy.[600] Coomaraswami[601] finds in ancient Indian art the common endowment of early Asiatic culture extending from the Mediterranean region to China and Ceylon, particularly in the decorations of pottery and he remarks : "The wide extension and consistency of this culture throughout Asia in the second millenium B.C. throws important light on ancient trade-intercourse at the time when the eastern mediterranean formed the western boundary of the civilized world."

From the Ezekiel (ch. 27) we learn a number of trade-articles of the Phonecians among which "ivory and ebony could only have been procured in Dedan from India, for there were no elephants in Arabia".[602] On the basis of Jewish chronicles, we may say that about the 13th century B.C. the Phoenicians improved the Redsea-trade. The Jews under David and Solomon were good friends of the Phoenicians under Hiram (980-917 B.C.) and this friendly tie gave a great impetus to their trade and commerce. The Bible refers to Jewish trade with India. Solomon founded a seaport at Ezion-Geber (mod. Akaba at the head of the eastern arm of the Red sea) from

which his ships sailed under the guidance of the mariners of Hiram, king of Tyre for distant lands of the East,[603] bringing back with them a vast quantity of gold, silver, ivory, apes, peacocks and a plenty of almurg trees and precious stones. These ships under Hiram and Solomon started from the ports of the Deccan.[604] Dr. Caldwell[605] also concludes : "It seems probable that Aryan merchants from the mouth of the Indus must have accompanied the Phoenicians and Solomon's servants in their voyages down the Malabar coast towards Ophir or at least have taken part in the trade". The Jews continued their trade with India for about a century, at least upto the time when the fleet of Jehoshaphat, fifth in descent from Solomon containing merchandise for Tarshirs was destroyed. Prof. Max[606] Duncker speaks of trade "between the Indians and the Sabaeans on the coast of South Arabia before the 10th century B.C." The bas-reliefs of the temple of Deir-el-Bahari at Thebes in Egypt contain a picture showing among the booty many Indians animal, ivory, gold, precious stones sandal-wood and monkeys, being carried to Egypt.

Proto-Indian culture of Mohenjodaro and Harappa (c. 2400 B.C.—2100 B.C.), as reflected in seals, unearthed establishes a brief commercial intercourse between India and Near East. The Proto-Indians who came to India from North Syria and Mesopotemia seem to have learnt the art of making burnt bricks, found at Mohenjodaro under the influence of Babylonian culture. "The Indo-Sumerian seals", as studied by L. A. Waddell (London, 1925) also suggest a close, even lingual link between the Proto-Indians and the Sumerians. The two races that entered India before the Aryans were—(i) the Proto-Australoid, a black mediteranean people who came from near Palestine and (ii) the more civilized dark skinned Mediterranean offshoot of the same race, called later as Dravidians in India ; and both these people influenced the Aryans in India and built what is now Hīndu culture. Their main contributions to Aryan culture were pottery, the ideas of totemism and the hoe and digging stick cultivation. They cultivated cotton, wove cloth by it, grew rice, vegetables and fruits like banana, coconut etc. and made sugar. Catching and taming of elephants, use of arrow, betel, turmeric and vermilion and counting by twenties the Aryans had borrowed from these

Proto-Australoids, 'Pūjā, derived from 'pū' (=flowers) was another trait of Dravidian culture. Krishṇa, a demon-fighter against Indra in the Ṛgveda, according to P. T. Srinivas Aiyangar represents a Dravidian god of youth. Thus we find that India was in touch with the Western countries in Near East and the people thereof. Now we shall analyse the archeological reports of excavations made in the Indus Valley of India and the countries of the near East to show how India was commercially connected with those neighbouring countries during and even before the Vedic period.

In the neolithic period of Indian history people preferred to live in the river-valleys and so it is quite natural that they utilised the rivers as the means of communication. However, they used also the primitive tracks along the course of rivers, evidently as means of socio-economic contacts between different groups of people living on different industries. Amri on the west of the Indus in Sind was thus connected with Lohri near lake Manchhar, Pandiwahi, Bandhni and Dambhuthi[607] and also with Nal and Nundara along the valleys of the Mulla and the Gaj. The people of the Indus valley used the Indus as their means of water transport, as evidenced by the remains of the urban civilisation growing and developing on sites like Harappa and Mohenjodaro in the third millennium B.C.[608] N. G. Majumdar points out that people of Dambhukhi, Bandhni and Chauro were not so rich, because they lived far away from the Indus.[609] The clay-carts unearthed from Mohenjodaro and Harappa[610] indicate the use of land routes as well, which connected the interior parts of the country with the river Indus. Road making was already in practice, as evidenced by the layout of the two cities, Harappa and Mohenjodaro.[611]

Not only the Indus but also the tributaries like the Jhaelum, Chenab, Ravi and the Sutlej were used as river-routes and trade-channels connecting the mouth of the Indus with sites high up as far as Harappa and Rupar and particularly with ancient sites of Bikanir and Bhawalpur states.[612] Mohenjodaro was connected with Lohumjodaro, Chanhudaro and Amri lying on the Indus southwards and with Orangi at the mouth. Some more economic centres lying between Lohunjodaro and Chanhudaro in prehistoric days have, however, been washed away by the floods of the Indus.[613] Mohenjodaro was also

connected with some sites near the Manchhar lake like Shah Hasan, Lohri and also with Jhangar. Pandiwahi and Ghaji Shah were two other trade-centres, connected with Mohenjo-daro on one side and with Kullimehi on the other.

Pandiwahi was connected with Desoi through Dambbuthi, Bandhni, Chauro and Kohtrash along with the river Naiz and one could go from Desoi to Orangi which was the outlet of the Indus valley[614] and it was linked with the ports of India on the east like Somnath, Lothal and Bhagatrav on the Tapti, and with those of the west, Beluchistan and Persia.[615] It may be noted here that the rivers Kurram, Gomal and Zhob, mentioned in ṚV[616] served as trade-routes in the Vedic period and also earlier in the period of the Indus Civilization.[617] Dabarkot was another prosperous trade-centre connecting Khandahar and Quetta with Harappa and also linking them with Mohenjodaro through Jhukar.[618]

Nal was another cultural centre linking Sind and Beluchistan with Quetta. From it the route ran to Amri through the Mula pass[619] and this route exists even today.[620] Nal was connected with Nundara in ancient times probably through the river valleys of the Nal and the Nundara. The Harappan traders passed through Nal and Nundara further west along the Makran coast upto Suktagendor and Suktakoh, exchanging their goods at the markets of Thale Damb, Shahi Tump and Gwalar.[621]

Dr. B. Srivastava (Trade and Commerce in Anc. India, p. 37, fn 2) thinks "on the evidence of seals that the trade-relation between the Indus valley and the Euphrates-Tigris valley can be traced from the pre-Sargonic period to c. 1700 B.C."[622] K. N. Diksit thinks that trade between these two river valleys was carried on by both land and water routes.[623] But S. Piggot holds that only water-route was used for the said purpose and made it possible to connect Harappa with cities of Elam and Sumer,[624] because he finds no trace of land-route in the period concerned between India and Sumer. Harappan and Sumerian manufactured goods have been unearthed from the tells and mounds in Iran and Seistan and Gordon Childe believes that these were left by the Indo-Sumerian traders of the period under review.

Harappa was connected with the region of the Caspian sea near Hissar by a route through Quetta, Khandahar, Helmund

Delta, Herat, Ferah, Anau and Nishapur, as evidenced by the remains of pre-historic sites in these regions.[625] We find some similarity between the loop-pattern on pottery fragments of Hissar, Chesmey Aly (near Tehran) and of Harappa and of sites bear Helmund Delta.[626] Chesmey Aly was again connected with Susa via Hamadan and Tape Giyan. Susa was once an important trade-centre of the region having close contact with Uruk. Gordon Childe holds on the basis of the account tablets inscribed in the proto-Elamite pictographic script and Cylinder seals that Susa had brisk trade in Lapis lazuli of Indo-Sumerians.[627]

Bampur was another trade-centre from where routes bifurcated to Qum and Chesmay Ali via Kirman, to Kandahar via Helmund Delta and to Shahi Tump and Sukta gendor.[628] Wave-lines of pottery fragments unearthed at Bampur and Shahi Tump indicate the possibility of trade-route between these places in the pre-historic days.[629] Besides, the similar finds like camel-headed hairpin and golden beads of the sites of Bampur and of Mohenjodaro show also their mutual relationship. Likewise we find some affinity of culture from pottery fragments of Bakun (near Persipolis) and of Quetta. Hence it may not be unlikely that a line of communication might have existed in between Quetta, Kirman and Bakun. The Indus Valley was connected with Susa and Musyan in Elam and with Ur in the prehistoric days as evidenced by the similar finds of pottery-works and particularly steatite vases found at Kish, Susa, Ur and Mohenjodaro.[630] The cylinder seal of c. 2500 B.C., carnelian beads, kidney-shaped inlays of bone and knobbed pottery and sixteen seals of the Indus style, discovered from Ur—all these Indus Valley goods have been discovered from the sites of Tell Asmar, an important emporium on the Tigris and so we may assume the trade-relationship between India and these places of the West.[631] Some beads are reported to have been exported to Egypt from the Indus valley ;[632] and the Sumerians were the intermediaries for the purpose,[633] who had transmitted Indian goods even further upto Anatolia and the Mediterranian world.

The fact that some seals of the Sumerians show their gods above wavy lines suggests that the Sumerians had these gods brought from India through the Indian traders who had gone

there by the sea-route. The report of recent excavations at Lothal under S. R. Rao[634] shows the existence of Lothal as a port of Kathiawad at the head of the gulf of Cambay. Rao draws our eyes to a seal like the Persian Gulf seal found out from Lothal.[635] Wheeler establishes that the Bahrain island in the Persian Gulf had regular commercial intercourse with the Gulf of Cambay[636] and excavations at this island show its link also with Mesopotamia and the Indus valley.[637] Hence we may assume that there was a regular coastwise traffic between Lothal and Bahrain islands via Orangi. W. F. Leemans[638] in his "Trade relations of Babylon" suggests that the term "Magan or Makkan" and "Meluhha", inscribed on clay-tablets, found at Ur are identified with Makram coast and the coast of Western India including Sind and Saurāṣṭra respectively. The Bahrain island, known as Telmur in the proto-historic days was the meeting ground of traders from India and Mesopotamia. Ur is at present far away from the sea but it was an important port near the Persian Gulf for entry into Mesopotamia between c. 2350 B.C. and 1770 B.C.[639] Here were imported Indian goods like gold, silver, copper, lapislazuli, stone-beads, ivory-combs, ornaments, pearls and wooden articles from the Indus valley and Lothal,[640] copper and ivory were exported to Ur, Kish, Tell Asmar and Susa from Lothal.[641] Wheeler also shows the trade-relations between Ur and the above ports of India in the period of Sargon of Akkad (c. 2350 B.C.) directly and in the later period (c. 2100 B.C.). Ur was in direct touch with Makkan and Telmun[642] and there is a little doubt that Lothal traded with the Persian gulf in the later half of the third millennium B.C.[643] Subsequently in between 1950 B.C. and c. 1700 B.C. (decline of Hammurabi dynasty) the traders of Telmum played the part of middlemen between India and Ur ; but after 1700 B.C., however, due to the fall of the Indus Civilization they ceased to trade with Makran and West Coast of India.

So long we have discussed the trade transaction of the people of the Indus valley civilization with the people of Persia, Mesopotamia and Central Asia. Scholars like Marshall, Wheeler and others have ascribed an earlier period for the Indus valley culture and D. H. Gordon[644] suggests a circumstancial evidence that the Aryan hordes are responsible for the

destruction of the Indus culture and for dislocating the thriving commerce of the Harappans ; and he believes that due to this invasion, throughout Beluchistan "the painted pottery cultures of Kulli, Nal and' Periano Ghundai came to an abrupt end" and that the Aryans attacked by way of Kandahar or Shahi Tump these Harappan trade-centres of Beluchistan. The Aryans had desolated Lohumjodaro and Chanhudaro and Harappa and then Mohenjodaro.[645] The city of Mohenjodaro was destroyed by breaking the dams, constructed for irrigation. D. D. Kosambi also points out that the ṚV refers to India's achievement of freeing streams indicating thereby that the Vedic Aryans had removed the obstacles in the way of streams to the river dams, mentioned by Marshall as existing to the West of Mohenjodaro. The problem of the original home of the Aryans has been discussed in my Vedic India[646] where the pros and cons of the two civilizations, pre-Aryan and Aryan has been treated in detail. If we accept the Aryan infiltration into India from outside, they might have come via Kandahar and Bolan Pass route, as suggested by the mention of the Suvāstu, the Gaurī and the Kubhā rivers in the ṚV, or they had come by the Khyber pass to the plains of the Punjab, as suggested by Rapson.[647] It is more likely that the Aryans coming from the Iranian plateau had entered by an easier route of Khandahar and Bolan or by the protohistoric route of Makran, as shown before. Moreover, if it is a fact that the Aryans desolated the lower Indus region earlier than the Upper Indus one, it is more likely that this easier route had been used by the Aryans. If Pusalkar's view that the Indus valley culture is the synthesis of both the pre-Aryan and the Aryan cultures, the Harappan civilization spread over a wide area not only in the East Punjab and Sind, but also in a wider region including modern Uttarpradesh, Rajasthan, Cutch, Sourāṣṭra and Gujrat and further in Beluchistan, as proved by cultural affinity, reflected in remains like town-planning pottery, seals, ornaments and weights etc. unearthed from different places of the said regions.[648] There is no doubt about the fact that the Aryans using painted Grey ware conquerred gradually the Harappans and outsted them from the region.[649] From the archaelogical report[650] we may assume that the Harappan rose to prominence at Rupar and Kalibangan in the Ghaggar valley earlier, than

the Aryans, represented by their P. G. ware. Gradually the Aryans expanded their colonies in the eastern regions of the Saraswatī-Dṛṣadvatī and later on spread upto the Sadānīrā in North Bihar and also upto Vidarbha in the south, as noted in AB.

H. D. Sankalia[651] shows how there grew up a similar pre-Aryan culture at Malwa and Nasik. Elsewhere[652] he refers to eight groups of culture on the basis of remains of pottery from the region of Nagda, Prakash and Bahal in the south, growing up in the river-valleys of (i) Jorwe-Nevasa or Godavari-Pravara valley, (ii) Bahal valley, (iii) Prakash or Tapti valley, (iv) Navdatoli-maheswar or Narmada valley, (v) Nagda or Chambal valley, (vi) Chandoli-Koregaon or Bhima valley, (vii) Maski, Piklihal and Brahmagiri and (viii) Nagarjunikonda or Krishna Valley. He suggests at the same time the possibility of traderoutes between Malwa and the Deccan and we may also assume their link with the different sites of Saurāṣṭra and Rajputana,[653] as noted above. If H. J. Kennedy is right, the Aryans first penetrated into the Saptasindhu region upto the Śatadru and they established their supremacy over the Kabul valley as well near about 1500 B.C.[654] Gradually the Aryans spread in Saraswatī-Dṛṣadvatī valley. Indra, chief of Ṛgvedic gods is called Purandara, evidently because he helped the Aryans in destroying 90 cities of the Saptasindhu region, built by the Harappans. The Aryans took interest in road-making, evidently because they took to trade and commerce, when they accepted the urban way of life of the pre-Aryans of the Indus Valley, as reflected in the RV[655] (.....rapśadūdhabhi-r-adhvas mabhiḥ pathibhi-r-......) by which the Maruts are invoked to come by paths, strongly built. Elsewhere[656] ("Adhīvāsaṃ parimātūrihannaha....śyenī sachate vartanīraha") we find the praise of forest fire burning the trees of the forests and creating thereby the routes. The ṛc[657] (....dhautīnāma-hihannāriṇak pathaḥ") mentions also the river-routes, made navigable by Indra, Agni and Soma are also depicted as makers of roads by which they give "gods a pleasant treasure and world."[658] The RV[659] refers to the utility of the knowledge of routes, particularly direct routes (añjasīnām), obviously for the convenience in the field of trade and commerce. Puṣan is also depicted in the ṛc[660] ("pathaekaḥ pīpāya....") as the

guard of roads. Savitṛ is again mentioned as the maker of roads, well made in the sky, free from dusts (ye the panthāḥ Savitaḥ pūrvyāso'reṇavaḥ sukṛtā antarīkṣe)[661] and from this we may assume that the Aryans were highly conscious of the utility of roads, well-made and without dust in their socio-economic life. The AV[662] is also a prayer for roads "free from thorns and straight." Elsewhere[663] we find a prayer to the Earth : "What many roads thou hast, for people to go upon a track (vartman) for the chariot, and for the going of the cart by which men of both kinds, excellent and evil go about, that road, free from enemies, free from robbers, may we conquer, be thou gracious to us with that which is propitious ;" and this bespeaks the socio-economic significance of the roads existing in the period under review. Winternitz[664] remarks just on this hymn of the AV : "The mother Earth is here extolled as the supporter and preserver of everything earthly and entreated for happiness and blessing and protection from all evil ; "and we know that the geographical and cultural conditions in the AV show its later period than that, reflected in the ṚV, The Vedic Aryans are already settled in the Ganges valley and they knew in this period the rise of four castes and particularly in the hymns of benedictions (pauṣṭikāni) we have the prayer of the merchants to gain happiness and success in their undertakings, for their good business and good fortune in their journey. From the AB[665] also we know that the Aryans spread from the Saraswatī region to that of Kuru-pañchāla, the great Brāhmaṇas were composed in this region of Kuru-Pañchāla. The gradual expansion of the Aryan tribes in different parts of North and South India during the Vedic period has been treated in my earlier treatise.[666] The ŚB[667] refers to the transfer of Vedic fire by Videgha Māthava and his priest Gotama Rāhugaṇa from the Saraswatī region to the river Sadānīrā indicating thereby the Aryan colonisation upto Bihar and obviously the opening of the route to this region. The ŚB mentions in this connection the towns of Āsandivat, Parichakrā, Kāmpilya and Nimiṣa. It deserves mention that Indra-Prastha, Hastināpura, Ahicchatra and Kāmpilya have yielded P.G. ware, assigned by archeologists[668] to the Aryans ; and so we may assume that these towns were built by the Aryans, probably after their penetration into this

region under Videgha Māthava. The fact that Videgha Māthava is said to have burnt over all the rivers between the Sarasvatī and the Sadānīrā[669] shows that Videgha Māthava might have taken to the direct route, by crossing the rivers on the way. We must remember that B. B. Lal[670] places the P.G. ware to the period between c. 1500—1000 B.C. and this fact is confirmed by c. 14 text. The ŚB refers to another route of this P. G. Ware period running along the courses of the Yamunā and the Ganges, from Rupar to Indraprastha and Mathura via Panipat, Tilpat and Bagpat and again from Mathura to Kausambi (noted in ŚB, xii,2,2,3), all yielding P. G. ware.[671] Kāśi is mentioned in the AV[672] and ŚB.[673] The ŚB[674] tells us of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, King of Kāśī who was defeated by Śatānīka Sātrājita of the Bharata family with the result that the Kāśī-s, down to the time of the Brāhmaṇa, gave up the kindling of the sacred fire. The Bṛ. Up.[675] also refers to Ajātaśatru of Kāśī. Kāśī-Videha[676] in Kauṣ. Up. and Bṛ. Upa.[677] refers to closer connection between the Kāśī-s and Vedehas. Vārāṇasī is included in the list of P. G. Ware[678] and the recent excavations at Rajghat near Varanasi also confirm the fact of the prevalence of P. G. ware. T. N. Roy[679] draws our attention to the stratigraphic position of P. G. ware in the Gangetic Valley and we find the same ceramic industry of Rajghat also at Hastinapura and Ahicchatra. The ŚB[680] mentions 'Kauśāmbeya' and thus proves the existence of the town 'Kauśāmbī' in its period. Hence it is more likely that the Aryans might have advanced also by the Yamuna-Ganges route from Indraprastha to Kauśāmbi via Mathura.

Vidarbha, Aśmaka and Kaliṅga lying south of the Vindhyas are mentions in AB[681] and Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini.[682] The AB mentions also some South Indian tribes like Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas and others. The Bodh. Dh. S.[683] refers to Kaliṅga. R. G. Bhandarkar[684] thinks of Aryan penetration into S. India through Kaliṅgas, avoiding the Vindhya range; whereas K. A. N. Sastri[685] remarks that the route through the Narmada and the Satpura across the Vindhya hills was used by the Aryans to go to South India. However, from the AB it is clear that the Aryans moved to Vidharbha, through Māhiṣmatī in Avantī region and then to Aśmaka through Mūlaka region. 8he Mahābhārata[686] also refers to a number

of routes to Dakṣiṇāpatha, one of which ran to Avantī after crossing the Ṛkṣavān mountain. (Ete gachhanti vahavaḥ panthāno Dakṣiṇā patham/Avantīm-ṛkṣavantaṃ cha samatikamya parvatam) and it[687] mentions as well the routes to the Vidarbha region and to the region of South Kosala. The maritime activities of the people of the Indus valley civilization and their trade-relation with Lothal, Beluchistan, Persia and Mesopotamia have already been discussed. The Vedic Aryans also were equipped with the art of navigation and they used sea-going vessels, propelled by 100 oars and furnished with sails.[688] The ŚB[689] refers to western and eastern oceans, i.e., Arabian sea and Indian ocean. Hence we may assume that the Vedic Aryans might have utilized the trade-routes of the earlier Harappans in the regions noted above, particularly in the coastal regions of Sind and Surāṣṭra. The ṚV[690] describes the Aśvins saving Bhujju from midocean and thus points out how the Aryans were expert in maritime activities and they sailed not only coastwise, but also across the midocean, far from the shore. The incidents of shipwreck[691] also show how the Vedic Aryans took to navigation for trade and they believed that they were saved by the Aśvins. Elsewhere[692] (apāṃ madhye taṣṭhivāmsaṃ tṛṣṇāvidajjaritāraṃ. . . .) we find how some of them had to suffer from shortage of drinking water, while they were crossing the wide ocean.

(ii) *Condition of trade-routes* : While tracing the trade-routes of India, used by the Vedic Aryans and pre-Aryan people we have referred to their attention to roads, the ṚV[693] refers to numerous troubles like thieves on roads through remote regions or, forests, (durge duroṇe kratvā na yātāṃ purū sahasrā śarvā ni varhīt). Elsewhere[694] (tanutyajeva taskarā vanargū. . . . .) we find mention of thieves, lying in wait in forests for robbing travellers of their properties. The ṚV[695] (rathaṃ na durgād. . . . .) refers to bad conditions of roads causing chariots to move with great difficulty. That is why the Ṛṣi prays to Pūṣan for journeys by good paths "Ati naḥ saśchato naya sugā naḥ supathā kṛṇu"[696] and ". . . . . .na navajvāro adhvane. . . .).[697] The ṚV[698] (chakṣu-r-iva yantamanu neṣathā sugam) is a similar prayer for good roads and a reliable leader to reach the land of riches. The ṚV[699] (Tvam Soma. . . .rajiṣṭham-anu neṣi panthām) is a prayer to 'Soma

for direct route.' Again the ṚV[700] (Akṣetravit-kṣatravidaṃ hyaprāt sa praiti kṣetravidānusisṭaḥ) mentions how a traveller, not knowing the path, took advice from the local people who had full knowledge of it and thus they fulfilled their mission of reaching their destination. The ṛc[701] (Yo naḥ Pūṣan apasma taṃ pathojahi) is an appeal to Pūṣan for saving one from a wicked person who misleads one to a wrong path and robs of one's riches. The Ṛc[702] (Prapathe patham-ajaniṣṭa Pūṣā prapathe divaḥ prapathe pṛthivyāḥ) refers to roads, ordinary (patha) and superior (prapatha). The ṛc[703] (Svasti-r-iddhiprapathe śreṣtha......) also refers to 'prapatha'. The word 'prapathin' occurs also in the ṛc[704] applied to Indra, going by the road of the highest quality. The AV[705] is pregnant with economic significance which deserves our minute study. This hymn is used by Kauśika in a ritual for success in trade. Sāyaṇa also speaks of use for profit in commerce (Vāṇijyalābhārtham). It stresses on safe routes as essential for trade and commerce. (Vahavo devayānā panthānaḥ). The roads must run through the length and breadth of the country (dyāvāpṛthivī antaṃ saṃcharanti), fit for travel of decent persons. This hymn refers to enemies of trade ("arāti," explained by Sāyaṇa as Vānijya-vighātakam śatrum) like thieves (paripanthinas) and wild animals (mṛga) infesting the roads and causing loss of life and property to traders. Indra is addressed in this hymn as 'Vaṇija', explained by Sāyaṇa as 'Vāṇijyakartāram', i.e., as a divine agent for making the routes safe. Obviously the king is referred to as the political leader of the land, who is the lord like Indra (Īśāna) and is capable of removing obstructions (nudam-arātim). The verse no. 2 of this hymn mentions provisions like milk (payasā), and ghee (ghṛtena), of course including other articles of nourishment to be available on roadsides for the maintenance of traders and also the two movies of traders like purchase (Krītvā) and acquisition of riches (dhanam-āharāni). Oblation to Agni, with ghee and divine prayer (dhī) as noted in its verse no. 3, given by the trader indicates the objects of his undertaking like wimming hundredfold profit (śataseyāya) and prayer for speedtaras' (both in travelling and the despatch of business) and physical strength (Valam), highly required in the field of trade and commerce. Elsewhere[706] we find a similar prayer

for roads, "free from enemies and free from robbers :" and the roads are noted as open to 'men of both kinds, excellent and evil." The word 'parirathyā' in AV[707] shows that some roads were suitable for chariots. Again in AV[708] we learn of roads passing through pillars (gateways), evidently near the approaches of some towns through which the bride is depicted to have passed with the bridal procession. The RV[709] refers to resthouses, provided with food or drink (prapatheṣu khādayaḥ) on the routes. The AV[710] is a charm for what is pleasant on the roads. The prayer of a traveller either on leaving or returning to his house is also found in the AV[711] which is used in Kauśika in a rite for prosperity by one setting out on journey, contemplating the house and its occupants. The Ait. Brā.[712] and Chānd. Upa.[713] mention 'mahāpatha's', obviously high roads like national highways of modern times connecting different parts of the country, built and used for trade-purposes. S. C. Sarkar[714] remarks that these mahāpathas of the Vedic period agree with mahāpatha'-s of early Buddhist literature. We come across the term 'badvan' in Pañch Br.[715] and Lāṭyāyana Ś.S.,[716] used in the sense of a causeway firmer than an ordinary road. The word 'setu' is found in Vedic literature.[717] It means either a raised construction demarcating one field from another or a raised bank or a bridge for crossing inundated land or a river. The Chānd. Up.[718] mentions it distinctly in the second sense of crossing like a bridge to reach Brahmaloka. Whatever sense it may mean, it shows that the Vedic period witnessed the construction of raised ground or bridge for disconnecting or connecting one with the other, on the roads passing through inundated land or rivers. B. Srivastava[719] thinks that the existence of bridges in the Vedic period cannot be sunstantiated", it "may suggest an ordinary couseway," but be draws our attention to 'good fording plates' meant by 'tīrtha'-s in AV[720] (sugaṃ tīrthaṃ supramāṇam). He refutes Dr. Sarkar's interpretation of AV[721] wherein "the pillars standing in the way" are taken as "barrier-posts for levying of toll or octoral"[722] on the trade-routes and he[723] places his own on the basis of Sāyaṇa that "prapatheṣu khādayo" means rest-houses on the routes, provided with food articles, required for travellers and the pillars of the hymn were meant for decoration (toraṇa), evidently meant for welcome to the bride on

the bridal road. The Chānd. Upa.[724] (Jānaśrutiḥ......sarvataḥ āvasathān māpayaṃchakre) refers to guesthouses on routes where the travellers would like their meals (me'nnamatsyantīti) and if so, the traders were highly benefited by these resthouses which would supply weary traders with food and rest during night. Āpas. D.S.,[725] while prescribing the preferential treatment of various types of men in the then caste-ridden society advises that all must make way for a laden vehicle (yānasya bhārābhinihatsya) and this shows how the traders carrying vehicles of their goods were also provided with all facilities for their smooth journey.

(iii) *Vehicles* : Ox or bull was used as a vehicle from the earliest times in India, as evidenced by some re-chalcolithic painted potsherds,[726] found out in Amri, Nundara and Kulli. Wheeled carts, yoked with oxen were used in the Indus valley, as in Euphrates and Tigris valley in the period of Indus valley Civilization.[727] Clay models of carts of Harappa indicate their civilian utility. Some carts were used for carrying commodities, as indicated in Pt. II, Fig. 6 of Chanhudaro excavations.[728] Humped oxen are found in the models,[729] with holes through their shoulders, obviously to take the ends of the yokes and some models of the same site suggest the use of asses or mules. Rams and Camels were also used for carrying goods, as represented in some models of Mohenjodaro.[730] Carts or chariots, drawn by oxen, mules or horses were the chief means of transport, as reflected in AV.[731] The ŚB[732] refers to a draught-mare, used to pull a cart. The AV[733] speaks of a castrated bull, used for drawing carts. The ṚV[734] mentions 'śakaṭī' in the sense of a cart. Śakaṭa is also mentioned in Nirukta[735] and Chānd. Upa.[736] The word 'anas' is used in the Vedic literature[737] more frequently to denote a cart. The words 'Anadvāha' and 'vāha', used in ṚV[738] and elsewhere indicate that oxen were used for drawing carts. The AV[739] mentions 'vipatha', a rough vehicle, used for bad tracks. The ŚB[740] indicates that horses mares were also yoked carts. 'Ratha' is mentioned frequently in Vedic literature,[741] evidently for the rich and also for its use in fighting or sports. We hear of Indra in the ṚV[742] as 'anarviśe', i.e., seated in a cart (and not a chariot), explained by Sāyaṇa as 'entering a forest for collecting fuels etc. by means of a cart.' If this explana-

tion be accepted, we have no doubt of the use of a cart for such domestic purposes. The carts had two wheels, each with spokes (ara), fitted to the axle-fellows (nemi). The ṚV[743] refers to the 'kha' of a chariot, of a cart and a yoke (yuga), while the AV[744] mentions poles (īśā) and yokes (yuga), together, both of which were lashed by 'Yoktra' (thongs).[745] These carts were obviously used for bringing harvest from the field and for transporting commercial commodities in the Vedic period; and we hear of the same system running in the post-Vedic period, as evidenced by Pāṇini[746] (vāhanam-āhitāt) who mentions carts, called 'ikṣuvāhana', 'śaravāhana' and 'darbhavāhana', according to the materials carried thereby.

(iv) *Medium of Exchange*: A system of weight (one unit=13 grains) was evolved in the period of the Indus valley civilization, as indicated by some stone weights of the period, so far discovered. A few metallic pieces, however, have been recovered, but they bear no symbols or inscription and follow no recognized weight standard. So no system of coinage seems to have been in vogue.[747]

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, opines that "the coined money was current in the Vedic period" as early as the third millennium B.C. because coins like Kṛṣṇala-s surarṇas, śata-māna-s and niḥka-s are mentioned in the Vedic literature. The early Vedic society was partly agricultural and partly pastoral and hence barter system was in practice as the medium of exchange. Cattle, ornaments, grains and gold came to be recognised as the wealth of the Vedic Aryans, as evidenced by the ṛcs. The ṛc[748] refers to the gift of horses, kine and sheep and elsewhere[749] we find a prayer to Soma for the gift of wealth in the shape of gold, steed, cows and grains. Another ṛc[750] mentions the acceptance of the gift in the shape of sixty thousand steeds, twenty thousand camels and ten thousand kine. The physicians are also referred to in the ṛc[751] (aaneyam-aśvam jāṃ vāsa ātmānaṃ tava puruṣa) as being paid not in money but in kind like steed, cow and garment. The cow was used as a standard or unit of value in the period concerned, as proved by two ṛcs in one[752] of which the image of Indra is said to have been offered for ten cows (Ka imaṃ daśabhi-r-mamendram krīnati dhenubhiḥ) and in another[753] (mahe chana tvāmadrivaḥ parā śulkāya deyām) the sage is said to

have refused to sell the image of Indra for a hundred, a thousand or even for a ten thousand cows. The store of his stolen wealth for which Indra sent out his messenger Saramā to trace, consisted of not gold or silver but of cows. (Imā gāvaḥ sarame yā tvam aicchaḥ).[754] But cows were not always convenient for the purpose of exchange, particularly when an article was worth half a cow. Hence metals were appreciated as media of exchange. We find no trace of copper or silver currency in the Vedic literature. Niṣka and hiraṇyapiṇḍa, mentioned in the RV deserve our careful scrutiny. Divodāsa offered to his priest ten lumps of gold (daśo hiraṇyapiṇḍān).[755] For safety gold was kept in pots, buried under ground.[756] (hiraṇyasyeva kalaśaṃ nikhātam). The ṛc[757] refers to the gift of a hundred niṣka-s to the sage Kakṣivān by the patron king Svanaya. Elsewhere[758] the sacrificers and Rudra are depicted as wearing niṣkas and we may assume that niṣka-s were ornaments. Again in the ṛc[759] (niṣkaṃ vā ghā kṛṇavate.....) Uṣas is invoked to take away the evils of bad dreams (duṣsvapnyam) from those who make niṣka-s, i.e., ornaments. Now the gift of 100 niṣkas to the sage, as noted above suggests that niṣka was obviously a coin, because one does not need a hundred necklaces for one's personal adornment. That is why the learned authors of the Vedic Index[760] comment that "as early as the Ṛgveda traces are seen of the use of niṣka-s as a sort of currency". The term 'rūpa' in the Viśvarūpa' means a symbol on a coin and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[761] thinks that niṣka was not simply a currency but a coin. The custom of stringing coins into necklaces in India is very ancient. So it may be argued that niṣka was a gold coin even in the Ṛgvedic period and that it was occasionally used as an ornament either singly or in a necklace. However, niṣka is mentioned not in transactions of sale but only of gift in cases of kings or rich persons. We have no Vedic evidence of niṣkas, issued by the State, or the guild and stamped with symbols guaranteeing their contents or value. It may be noted here that the goddess Śrī has been depicted in the Kalpasūtra[762] as 'urattha-dīnāra-mālyā', i.e., wearing a string of 'dīnāras' (=Roman 'dinarius') on her breast. Pāṇini[763] prescribes that the affix 'ya' is added after the word 'rūpa' in the sense of 'matup' when stamping (āhata) or praise (praśaṃsā) is denoted,

as for example, 'rūpyā' (gauḥ) means a cow having a praiseworthy frame. "Rūpyaḥ dīnāraḥ" is also explained by Kāśikā (āhatam-rūpamasya) as a dīnāra having a stamp or symbol. But 'rūpa' or 'viśvarūpya' in the Vedic literature has nowhere been explained in the sense of a symbol on coin by any commentator. Sāyaṇa explains 'viśvarūpa' as having various forms ('Vahuvidha-rūpayuktam' qualifying a necklace).[764] The word 'niṣka' occurs also in AV[765] and in AB[766] only. The PB[767] mentions a silver niṣka, worn by a Vrātya chief. All these references suggest that niṣka was a necklace, sometimes a string of coins.

The ṛc[768] mentions a gift of ten 'hiraṇyapiṇḍa'-s and we may assume that each 'hiraṇyapiṇḍa' denoted an unstamped metallic money, having a standard weight or value. Sometimes we hear of mere numbers like a hundred or a thousand without any clarification of gifts and these may be taken to mean a number of gifts like cows or gold-pieces. If so, here also we are told of a gold-piece of a standard weight recognised by the State as gifted by kings or richer people. But it is difficult to assert its character as a coin, in view of the fact that like niṣkas, hiraṇyapiṇḍa-s are rarely mentioned in connection with trade-transaction of this Vedic period. However, hiraṇyapiṇḍa may be accepted as an earlier specimen of the 'Suvarṇa' of definite weight and value, heard of in the ŚB[769] Now about the śatamāna.

A golden 'manā' prayed for in ṚV, VIII.78.2 may be a precursor of śatamāna. This word occurs in Taittirīya[770] and Kaṭha Saṃhitās[771] and in Tait.[772] and Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas.[773] Dr. D. R. Bhandakar[774] takes it in the sense of coin of gold because it is mentioned alongwith 'suvarṇa'. Dr. D. C. Sircar, however, suggests that it might have denoted both gold and silver coins in view of the fact that the word 'hiraṇya' meant both gold and silver in those days. But the word 'rajata' was used to denote silver as early as the Vāj. Saṃhitā.[775] The words 'hiraṇya' and 'rajata' were used in connection with niṣka-s only to make a clean distinction between the two but no such distinction has been made with reference to śatamāna-s in the later Vedic literature. Hence we may presume śatamāna to be a coin of gold alone. The etymology of the word shows, according to some, that its weight was of a hundred absolute

units. But the Vedic literature is not clear about its actual weight. Karaka, commenting on Kātyāyana Ś.S. explains it as 'vṛttākāro raktikā śatamāna', i.e., one śatamāna is equal to a hundred kṛṣṇalas or raktikās of metal of round shape. Dr. D. C. Sircar, however, opines that the weight of a śatamāna was 32 kṛṣṇala-s or raktikā-s and that the hundredth part of a śatamāna was not a kṛṣṇala but a mañjādi, as referred to in an inscription. But Altekar says that a śatamāna was equal to a hundred kṛṣṇala-s or ratikā-s and the question of a mañjādi does not arise, as it is nowhere mentioned in the Vedic literature. The term 'Kṛṣṇala' means a guñjaberry or a raktikā but this word, mentioned in Tai. Brah.[777] denotes a metallic standard of gold weighing a guñjaberry. The Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā[778] mentions a hiraṇya Kṛṣṇala and this confirms this view.

Again, we come across the word 'pāda' in the Bṛhad Upa.[779] (sa ha gavāṃ avarurodha daśa daśa pādā ekaikasyāḥ śṛṅgayo-r) which states that in a vahudakṣiṇā sacrifice Janaka asked the best of the brahmins of the Kuru-Pañchāla country to take one thousand cows, with ten pādas, tied to every single horn of each cow. We are in the dark about the metal of the pāda. Some scholars hold that it was not a separate coin but only as a fractional unit of a coin like a śatamāna or a niṣka, that is, its one-fourth in weight and value. Altekar opines that it was a coin of gold, as indicated in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. Pāṇini[780] refers to a metallic standard used for exchange (pāṇa-pādamāṣa-śatādyat) and to some coins like niṣka, śatamāna etc. Altekar has equated some silver coins of Paila hoard with the pāda coins and so he is not sure about what it meant, a gold or silver coin.

It is interesting to note that the words 'niṣka', 'śatamāna, Suvarṇa, pāda' etc. as analysed above are always found in Vedic literature in connection with gifts, but we know little about their economic significance particularly in the field of trade and commerce. However, as these are mentioned as gifts from the kings, we may assume that they were minted perhaps by the State and they came to be recognised as media of exchange by the people in general.

The ŚB[781] (rajataṃ hiraṇyam dakṣiṇā nānārūpatayā śatamānaṃ bhavati śatāyur-vai-Purusaḥ) states that gold and

silver will be the fee for the sake of variety to correspond to the manifold forms of the deity and that fee will be śatamāna; and elsewhere[782] it refers distinctly to silver śatamāna coin of 100 parts, i.e., 100 rattis in weight. Pāṇini[783] refers to articles, purchased for 1, 2 and 3 niṣkas and also to a standard silver coin, 'Karṣāpaṇa'[784] and its subdivisions. Though he does not name any golden coin, the same is implied in his sūtra[785] (hiraṇya-parimāṇaṃdhaṅe) showing that one's wealth was known in terms of coined gold. Again he[786] refers to pieces of gold equal to a standard weight (jātarūpebhyaḥ parimāṇe). Copper coins became more popular in the post-Vedic age, as known as māṣa weighing 5 rattis (Pān, V.I.34).

Foreign scholars like James Prinsep, H. H. Wilson, J. Kennedy and V. A. Smith think that the Indians owed much to the Greeks for the knowledge of coining money. V. A. Smith[787] writes: "The introduction into India of the use of coins......may be ascribed, with much probability to the 7th Century B.C. when foreign maritime trade seems to have begun. There is reason to believe that the necessities of commerce with foreign merchants were the immediate occasion for the adoption of the Indian people of a metallic currency as well as of alphabetical writing". But Prof. Rapson holds the view of independent rise of currency in ancient India. The above survey of trade, both internal and external, particularly maritime trade of India with foreign countries as early as Vedic period, if not earlier indicates that some sort of a metallic currency arose as a means of exchange in place of barter, independent of any foreign influence.

(v) *Weights and measures*: A number of weights of stones of various sizes, current in the period of Indus Civilization[788] have been unearthed and these might have had some relationship with the weight system of Egypt and Mesopotamia. as suggested by E. Thomas.[789] However, the Indus weight system was very accurate and it might have had its origin in India. The weights of the Indus civilization fell "into a well defined system unlike any other in the ancient world."[790] The system was binary in cases of smaller weights and decimal in those of larger ones; and the unit weight had the value of 0.8565 gramme.[791]

In Vedic times Kṛṣṇala and manā or māna were two

denominations of weights. Kṛṣṇala is referred to in the sense of a weight in TS,[792] MS,[793] KS[794] and TB[795] and it was the fundamental unit in Vedic and post-Vedic times. Raktikā and Guñjā were probably equal in weight. The weighing scale was in use as early as the period of the Indus valley civilization[795] and balances were so common that even children of those days made play-models of balances. We have had trace of a scale of a bronze bar with suspended copper pans, used evidently for weighing light and precious things.

Tulā is conspicuously absent in the ṚV and so probably balances were rarely used in early Vedic period. It occurs first in the VS[797] (hiraṇyakāra-tulā), meant evidently for goldsmiths and used for light weights. But the ŚB[798] speaks of the balance in connection with the weighing of a man's good and evil deeds in the next and in this world. Hence we may assume its use in daily life and the people's confidence in its correctness. It was used as a part of the machinery of justice to decide cases by ordeal (divyapramāṇa). The Vasiṣṭha D.S.[799] refers to balances as necessary domestic objects and falsification of the balance was held a crime—as noted in Āpas. D.S.[800]

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694. X.5.6
695. 1.106.1
696. RV, 1.42.7
697. RV, 1,42.8
698. RV, V.54.6
699. 1.91.1
700. X.32.7
701. 1.42.2
702. X.17.6 cf. AV, VII.9.1
703. X.63.16
704. RV, VI.31.5
705. iii,15
706. AV, XII.1.47
707. XVIII,26
708. XIV,1,63
709. 1.166.9
710. VII,53
711. VII.60
712. VI.17.8
713. VIII.6.2
714. Some asp. of Earliest Soc. Hist, Ind., p. 14
715. 1.1.4
716. 1.1.23
717. RV, IX,41,2 ; TS, III,2,2,1 ; TS, VI,1,4,9 ; VI,5,3,3 ; VII,5,8.5 ; KS, XXVII,4 ;

AB, III,35 ; ŚB, XIII,2, 10,1 ; TB, II,4,2,6 ; Chā. Up. VIII,4,1 & 2—"Ya Ātmā sa-setu-vidhṛti-r-eṣām lokānām asaṃbhedāya ;" and Bṛ.Up. IV.4,22—"Eṣa setu-r-vidharaṇa eṣāṃ Lokānāmasaṃbhedāya.

718. VIII.4 & 2
719. T.A.C.A.I. (1968, Varanasi) p. 120
720. XIV.2.6
721. XIV.1.63
722. SAESHI, pp. 14-15
723. TCAI, pp. 120-121
724. IV.1.1
725. II,5,11,5-9
726. Prehist. Ind. pp. 86-120
727. Excavations at Harappa (Vats. MS, Lond, 1949, p. 6)
728. Excavations at Chānhudaro (Mackay, EJH, 1945) PL. LVIII,29
729. Ibid, p. 165, Pl. II. Fig. 8
730. Mohenjodaro, Vol. III, PL, LVIII,11,12,15 & Vol. I, p. 28
731. iii,11,5 & Viii,8,22
732. V.5.4.35
733. iii,9.2
734. X.146.3
735. VI.22
736. IV.1.8
737. RV, VIII.91,7 ; X,85 ; X, 86,18 ; AV, XII,1.47 & ŚB, 1,1,2,5
738. IV.57.4 ; X.59.10 ; X85,10 ; AV, iii,11,5 ; AV, IV,II,1 ; AB, ii,1,4,17 and ŚB, ii, 1,4,17
739. XV.2.1
740. V,5,4,35
741. RV, 1,20,3 ; iii,15,5 ; AV, V,14,5 & AB, vii,12,3
742. 1.121.7
743. VIII,91,7
744. ii,8.4
745. RV, iii,33,13 & AV, iii, 30.6
746. VIII.4.8
747. J.N.S.I., Vol. XV. p. 14 & J.R.A.S., 1937, pp. 6-25
748. V.61.5
749. IX.69.8
750. RV, VIII,46.22
751. X.97.4
752. IV.25.10
753. VIII,1,5
754. RV,X.108.5
755. RV, VI.47.23
756. RV, 1.117.12
757. 1.126.2
758. RV, V.19.3 (niṣkagrīve) & RV, II,33.10 (Niṣkaṃ- . . . . Viśvarūpam).
759. VIII.47.15
760. Vol. I, p. 454-55
761. Literature on Anc. Ind. Numis., pp. 67-68
762. SBE, XXII, p. 233
763. V.2.20
764. on RV, II,33,10
765. V.14,3 ; V,17,14 ; XX.138
766. VIII,22
767. XVII,1,14
768. VI.47.23
769. XII,7,20,13 and XIII.2.3.2
770. II,3,11,5 & III,2,6,3
771. XI.8
772. 1.2,7,7
773. V.4,3,24-25 & V,5,5,16
774. JNSI, XV p. 16
775. XXIII,37
776. JNSI, XV, p. 148
777. 1.3.6.7 cf. Tait. Sam, II, 3,2,1
778. XI.4
779. III.1.1
780. V.1.34, cf. V.1.27 & V.1.37
781. XIII,2,3,2
782. XIII.4,2,10
783. V.1.30
784. V,1.29

785. VI.2.55
786. IV.3.153
787. Imp. Gaz. Ind. II,135
788. The Indus Civilization p. 61
789. Numismatic Orientalia, Pt. I, pp. 1-2
790. The Indus Civilization, p. 61
791. Early Indus Civilization, p. 103
792. II,3,2,1
793. II,2,2
794. xi,4
795. 1.3.6.7
796. Early Indus Civil. p. 103
797. x.30.17
798. XI,2,7,33
799. 19,23
800. 2,6,19

CHAPTER XI

(i) *Corporate activities* : It is difficult to say if the seals of the Harappans were private issues of individual traders or of trade-guilds of the period of the Indus valley civilization and whether trade was carried on by the State or by the guilds. Necessities of economic life led to the formation of corporate bodies possibly even as early as the Ṛgvedic age which witnessed the ṛise of classes or castes and village communities. Progress in economic life required specialisation of an individual in a particular pursuit of life and thus various pursuits were practised by different persons and on the other hand, the establishment of intimate relations between different parts of socio-economic life, thus both differentiation and integration constituted the essence of economic progress. We have already discussed the differentiation of functions or occupations of Vedic Aryans.

We come across the term 'ganaśrī' and 'gaṇapati' in VS.[801] The Bṛh. Upa.[802] (Sa naiva vyabhavat gaṇaśa viśam-asṛjata yānyetāni devajātāni gaṇaśa ākhyāyante vasavo Rudrā Ādityā viśvadevā Maruta iti) states that Brahmā was not content with the creation of Brāhmaṇas and Kṣattriyas. He created Viśa, i.e. the Vaiśyas who were called 'gaṇaśaḥ', obviously for their corporate lives ; and gods like Vasus, Rudras, Ādityas, Viśvadevas and Maruts were vaiśyas because of their information of corporate bodies among themselves. Śaṁkara, while commenting on this passage of the Bṛ. Upa. states that the acquisition of wealth is possible, not by individual enterprises but by corporate activities. (prāyeṇa saṃhatā hi vittopārjana- samarthāḥ naikaikaśaḥ). Dr. R. C. Majumdar[803] thinks that the guilds as of the Paṇis organised the business transaction during the Vedic periods. But B. Srivastava suggests that guild organisation is generally met with as a late phase of a civilization and hence he opines that "unity and organisation" of the Paṇis of the Ṛgvedic age was "more of military than commercial nature, they were organised more to protect their existence from the hostile and uncommercial ṛṣis than to safeguard their business interests.[804] 'The term 'gaṇa' of the Bṛ. Up. means, according to Dr. Majumdar,

trade-guilds in Vedic India but R. S. Sharma[805] takes it in the sense of a tribal organisation. The word "sreṣṭhin[806] means, according to Hopkins,[807] a modern seth or according to the learned authors of the Vedic Index, the headman of a guild. Bhaga is the śreṣṭhin of the gods, as referred to in Tai. Br.[808] Sāyaṇa explains this term of AB in the sense of a rich man (dhanapati), as he found it used in his time. R. K. Mukherjee[809] takes it to mean a chief having great social power, if so, it may signify not only the head of a trade-guild but also a man of a superior social status. The vaiśyas of the later Vedic period, as depicted in the Bṛ. Up., noted above, were engaged in different occupations and it is not unreasonable to think that they could by this time gain sufficient economic progress so as to form guilds of various crafts or trades, to safeguard their own interests and save themselves from the undue exploitation of the higher castes, as confirmed by frequent references of later post-Vedic period. It may be noted here that traders were influenced by the religious ideas, as we find that they performed some religious rites for their success in trade and offered prayers to Agni[810] (Āgne sthūraṃ raviṃ bhara pṛthuṃ gomantam aśvinam/ añgdhi khaṃ vartayā paṇin//) and other gods.[811] The ṛc[812] (samudraṃ na saṃcharaṇe saniśyavo. . . .nadyo apa vran) shows how the traders worshipped the sea on the eve of their journey for maritime trade. The VS[813] refers to Rudra as the protector of trade. The AV[814] is a prayer for success in trade and Sayāṇa says that this hymn is applied for profit in commerce (Vāṇijyalābhārtham). The Hiraśyakeśin Gr. S.[815] refers to a rite called 'paṇyasiddhi' in which a portion of the article of trade is offered to Fire with a prayer : "If we carry on trade to acquire (new) wealth by means of our (old) wealth, may Soma, Agni, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Īśāna prosper that." The same tradition of prayers to gods and Yakṣa-s continued in the post-Vedic period, as evidenced by the Avadānaśataka[816]

(ii) *Price* : The ṛc[818] may be quoted here :
"Bhūyasā vasnam-acharat kanīyo'vikrīto akāniṣaṃ punaryan/ sa bhūyasā kanīyo nārirechīd-dīnā dakṣā viduhanti pravāṇam// which means—a man has realised a small price for an article of great value, and again coming (to the purchaser he says), this has not been sold ; I require the full price, but he does

not recover a small price by a larger one; whether helpless or cleaver they stick to their bargain," This ṛc shows that prices were fixed after mutual contract, once for all. The next ṛc[818] (ka imaṃ daśabhi-r-mamendraṃ krīṇāti dhenubhiḥ/ yadā vṛtrāṇi jañghanad-athainaṃ me punardadat//) states: "who would buy my Indra (image of Indra) for ten milch cows? Here another condition is laid down that the purchaser would return the same to the seller when this Indra would kill his enemies. We have also the tendency of bargaining in the ṛc[819]—"mahe chana tvām-adrivaḥ parāśulkāya deyāṃ/ na sahasrāya nāyutāya vajrivo na śatāya śatam agha//"—"O caster of the stone, I would not sell thee for a mighty price, not for a thousand, Thunderer, not for ten thousand, nor a hundred thousand, Lord of countless wealth."

Pāṇini[820] refers to a trader (Kraya-vikrayika), taking to business to earn profit (lābha)[821] on the capital (mūla),[822] invested by him. Profit was the chief motive but even in Vedic times some sort of restraint was practised, as the ṛc, noted above, mentions that no bargaining was allowed, when the price was once settled. The ŚB[823] states that people first bargain and then come to terms about prices of things, placed for sales. Haggling is also referred to in the Kātyāyana Ś. S.[824] and in post-Vedic texts. In early Vedic works we find no reference to market and hence we may assume that trade was carried on by the system of hawking. Pāṇini refers to 'a market-place'—(āpaṇa).[825] From the above survey we learn that sale was taken to be finalised when the commodities were handed over to the purchaser after the payment of the price.

(iii) *Commodities*: Paṇa is mentioned in AV[826] in the sense of bargaining and selling and the root 'paṇ' from which it is derived is found in VS,[827] ŚB,[828] TS,[829] and AB[830] Paṇana in ŚB[813] means 'trafficking'. Pāṇini[832] refers to 'paṇya' and 'paṇitavya' and also to 'krayya' in the sense of commodity purchased with money. The root 'krī' is mentioned in the RV[833] but not Kraya and this ṛc refers to sale by barter. The AV[834] mentions as trade articles, garments (dūrśa), coverleets (pavasta) and goatskin (ajina). The rule of Pāṇini[835] (jīvikārthe chāpaṇye) suggests that paṇya denoted a commodity by which one could earn one's livelihood. Thus 'paṇya' implied the sense of exchangeability.

Milk, butter and foodgrains are noted in the Brāhmaṇas as useful for domestic use but it is difficult to ascertain their commercial value. Some scholar[836] thinks that these were produced by almost every family, they had little economic or commercial significance. If so, trade in Vedic age was mostly in things of luxury. Products of art and industry had more commercial value, because they were highly demanded. Hence commodities of maritime trade were selected on the basis of demand in foreign countries, as in later period as distinctly mentioned in Divyāvadāna and Arthaśāstra.[837] The Bṛ. Upa.[838] refers to ten kinds of seeds, rice, barley etc. and thus agriculture came to be insisted on as means of production of goods having not only domestic usefulness but also commercial significance. Corn-dealers (dhānya-vanijaḥ) are heard of more distinctly in the Jātakas. Even in the pre-Vedic period industrial production in the shape of pottery and beads of precious stones and metal ornaments became popular, as evidenced by the remains of excavations of sites of protohistoric period. The different arts and crafts of the Vedic period have also been discussed before.

Salt is not found in the ṚV, mentioned only once in the AV,[839] but is noted as highly valuable in the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads.[840] It is strange that the Vedic Aryans, when settled in the Punjab where salt abounds, are found to be silent about salt and that they refer to it in the region, more eastern where salt is not available and so more highly praized. The Bṛ. Up.[841] (Sa yathā saindhavakhilya udake prāsta udakam-evānu-vilīyeta na hāsyodgrahaṇāyeva syāt) states that "as a piece of salt, when thrown into water is dissolved into water and none is capable of perceiving it, because from whatever place a person might take water, it would have the taste of salt." The Ch. Upa.[842] (Tad-yathā lavaṇena suvarṇaṃ saṃdadhyāt suvarṇena rajataṃ tajatena tvapu....charmaṇā) refers to the greater value of salt than that of gold, as gold is connected by salt, and silver by gold and tin by silver and lead by tin and iron by lead, and wood by iron or leather. Guggulu (bdellium) is mentioned in AV[843] as produced by the river or the ocean, but bdellium is the gum of a tree and not at all the product of the sea. Zimmer, however, says that the latter source alludes to seaborne trade. Varaṇa, a plant used as medicine and as a spell

against poison is referred to in the AV[844] as growing on the banks of the Varaṇāvatī (river or lake) and is said to have been bartered for coverings, for garments and for goatskins. Horses of the Indus region are noted in the Bṛ. Upa.[845] 'mahāsuhayāḥ' (capital and the best) and even the ṚV[846] mentions them in such light (svaśvā).

The export of ivory and ebony from India to Arabia has already been mentioned. Ships carried gold, silver, ivory, apes peacocks and a plenty of almug trees and precious stones to Tyre during the reign of Hiram. Susa had brisk trade in lapislazuli of Indo-Sumerians.

(iv) *Slave labour :* Widney[847] says : "The word 'slave' as found in Teutenic speech is of comparatively recent origin, having its genesis in the race-name of another branch of the Aryan people, the slaves who were made captives in war by the Teutonic peoples and became the servitors of their captors. We yet find a cognate primitive Aryan root in another class of words which have come to us directly from Latin, but which have a common root in many of the Aryan tongues and which point back to slavery as long-existing and vide-spread among Aryan peoples. It exists in Latin-English words servile, servitude, servitor from the Latin Servus, a slave with the allied forms servio, servitium, servitudo, servilis. The root in its consonantal frame-work of S.R. runs through many of the Aryan tongues tracing back with the cognate Sanskrit root 'Svar' or 'sar' meaning to tie or bend ; in all the common idea of something or a person bound or restricted of liberty." He concludes on the basis of this philological evidence that slavery existed in some shape or other among the Indo-Aryans. But Dr. P. C. Jain[848] is justified, while pointing out that "there exists no such words in the Sanskrit language, derived from the root svar or sar which may mean a slave."

Slavery was a recognized institution in the Sumerian culture of the Babylonian era in the 4th millenium B.C. The same institution is also found in the code of Hammurabi. However, we find its practice in the Ṛgvedic age only in a miniature form. In the ṚV, we come across the constant conflict between the Aryans and Dāsa-Dasyu-s. The Aryans had to fight out the non-Aryans who came to be known Dāsa-Dasyu-s and also be the Aryans of the adjacent regions, as evi-

denced by the ṛc[849] (Tvaṃ tān Indrobhayā amitrān-dāsā Vṛtrāṇyāryā cha śūra). We learn of gifts of dāsa-s and dāsī-s from the ṛc[850] (śataṃ dāsā....) and also another ṛc[851] (....pañchāśatam....vadhūnām). The ṛc[852] speaks of the interest of the Aryans in agriculture, who tilled land themselves and so required little slave-labour. However, the defeated people came to be known as dāsa-s but their position in the society was not so low as serfs or slaves of other countries in the ancient world. That is why slavery was never looked down upon in the Vedic society and even if it existed at all in the economic sense, their conditions were much better than those elsewhere and they were soon assimilated in the Aryan fold. In the post-Vedic period, particularly in the Buddhist period we find a more complex social and economic conditions reflected in the literature when emerged a fully developed urban life with agriculture, industries, trade and commerce, both inland and foreign, which demanded the use of slaves in different spheres of economic activities. The Mahābhārata[853] also refers to slave labour. (Mānuṣā mānuṣān eva dāsa-bhāvena bhuñjate/ vadha-bandha-nirodhena kārayanti divāniśam//").

In the Vedic society, at least at its earliest phase free labourers enjoyed a respectable position, as evidenced by the rathakāras who as builders of war-chariots, once enjoyed the privilege of closer intimacy with the king. The Ṛbhu-s won a place among the gods by dint of their wonderful skill (bhāgaṃ deveṣu yajñiyam).[854] They were also depicted as being immortal among the mortals[855] (martāsaḥ santo amṛtatvam-ānaśuḥ). But in the period of the Brāhmaṇas they, devoted to their mechanical art merged in the group of Vaiśyas and lost their original status. The AV[856] also shows their importance and even the king wishes to have them as his obedient subjects, evidently because they represented the industrial labour. Bodh. Ś.S. refers to a rathakāra, entitled to perform a śrauta rite and to be initiated (upanīta).[857] But in the later Vedic society, as reflected in ŚB, they were looked down upon by the Brahmins and Kṣattriyas, obviously for their manual labour and this contempt was carried further to the extreme in the later Vedic period of Dharmasūtra-s when the rathakāra was but conceived as a mixed caste. Similarly the physicians were highly praised in the Ṛgvedic society but

they were disliked in the later period of Tait. Saṃhitā[858] where we find them depicted as "Uttaptau vā imau manuṣya-charau bhiṣajāviti tasmād brāhmaṇena bheṣajam na kāryam-aputo hyeṣo'medhyo yo bhiṣak," i.e., "Impure are they (Aśvin-s), wandering among men and physicians. Therefore, a Brahmin should not practise medicine, for the physician is impure, unfit for sacrifice," The Vaiśyas representing the labour class, working in agriculture, industries, and trade and commerce in the later Vedic society, thus lost their original status and came to be regarded as tributary to another (anyasya valikṛt) and as meant for being devoured by the Brāhmaṇa and the Rājanya (anyasyādyāḥ), as noted in AB.[859] The śūdra is described as 'anyasya preṣya', servant of another, 'Kāmotthāpya', to be expelled at will and 'yathā-kāma-vadhya', to be slain at will ; and these terms show the position of the Śūdras as that of a serf, evidently as a result of conquest. The PB[860] declares distinctly that a Śūdras was after all none but a servant, even if he was master of enough cattle (vahu-paśu) and his duty was nothing but to wash the feet of his master (pādāvanejya). The dāsa-s or dāsī-s, referred to as gifted away in the ṚV[861] must have been in some shape of slavery. The AV[862] also mentions dāsī-s as engaged in husking and pounding the rice. The illicit union of an Ārya with a Śudrā[863] implies the use of slave-girls, at least sometimes as concubines, if not as wives", The Śūdra girls is depicted as "loved of the Aryan" seeking "not wealth for prosperity" (na poṣāya dhanāyati). The issues of such unions are sometimes given respectable status, as in cases of Vatsa[864] and Kavasa.[865]

(v) *Domestic Economy* : The ṛc[866] speaks of domestic felicity, as expressed in 'jāyedastam', i.e. the wife is the home. Most of domestic duties were allotted to and performed by different female members of the family. The words 'mātā' and 'duhitā' explained philologically denote that the mother was the distributor of food and the daughter milched the cow. It is interesting to note that women had equal status in the Vedic age as men, as revealed in Jaimini's Mīmāṃsā text.[867] The theory against women is that man alone had possessed wealth and had the capacity to perform sacrifices. One hundred chariots, one ox and one cow are to be given to the father of the bride, as prescribed in the Vedas and this is

simply a secular act only to induce bride's father to offer his daughter and hence not at all a religious gift. Besides, a woman is looked upon as a chattel and if she earns anything by cooking etc.; that would belong to her husband. But Jaimini strongly refutes this theory and establishes that a woman may have a will to perform a religious ceremony and as such she is capable of performing the same, she would own wealth, at least the presentations during her marriage. The gift of chariots, one ox and a cow is definitely a religious gift and not at all, a case of purchase, because there is no question of variation of price of the girl during marriage. Besides, the Vedic text is in favour of her possession of wealth, not only the presentations during marriage but also whatever is acquired by the husband is the joint property of the married couple. From this survey we may assume that women were equal with men during the Vedic age, they could not be treated as mere chattles, they could not be sold, had owned property or wealth equally with their husbands and one could not dispose of the same without the consent of the other. The marriage hymn shows distinctly the respectable position of the wife in the husband's house and she became the mistress of the household, enjoying religious and secular rights and taking equal interests in economic life as well.

Women were engaged also in weaving (tantuṃ tataṃ saṃ vayanti),[868] drawing water from wells in pitchers (udakaṃ Kumbhinī-r-iva)[869] and also in preparing the some drink (yatra nāryapachyavamupachyavam cha śikṣate)[870] and in churning milk to get butter (yatra manthāṃ vivadhnate).[871] The ṚV[872] (upala-prakṣiṇī nanā) refers to a mother or daughter as placing the corn in the morṭar and beating it with a pestle. Yāskā[873] means here 'the maker of groats" (saktu-kārikā). Of course, the task of husking and winnowing was done by a slave girl (dāsī), is referred to AV.[874] The marriage hymn of the ṚV[875] (śaṃ no bhava dvipade śaṃ chatuṣpade) mentions distinctly that the bride is desired to be good to the bipeds and quadrupeds of her husband and hence a woman was expected to have taken care of the cattle of the house. Cooking was allotted to women as in TS[876] and AV.[877] From the above survey it is clear that the Vedic family was a self-sufficient unit, each member, male or female performing

the duties to meet the needs of the family, both secular and religious. The VS[878] refers to the blessings craved for by the king out of the horse-sacrifice, one of which was an accomplished woman. (Purandhi-r-yoṣā).

The TB[879] and ŚB[880] refer to a harvest-offering ritual in which the wife of the sacrificer participated with hands joined to her husband's. From this we may assume that agriculture was the joint enterprise of the married couple. Jevons[881] also suggests that the duties of agriculture in primitive times were mainly in the hands of women. He remarks : "The cultivation of plants was one of women's contributions to civilization and it is in harmony with this conjecture that the cereal duties are usually both in the Old world as in the New, female."

(vi) *Usury* : The Vedas[882] refer to 'ṛṇa', of course, in the metaphorical sense but this term implies the use of real debt. We cannot expect the prevalence of credit system in the fulfledged form. The ṛc[883] means, according to Yāska,[884] and Sāyaṇa that a usurer (Vekaṇāṭa) made stipulation of realising double of what he had lent. Pramaganda[885] means, according to Yāska, a person born of an extremely usurious family (atyantakusīdi-kulīnaḥ) and Sāyaṇa also accepts this explanation. The TS[886] (yat kusīdam-apratīttam . . . . . anṛṇo bhavāni) mentions that a sacrificer, by worshipping two fires, wishes to be freed from that debt, if any loan he has not yet paid back. We hear of a curious association of the black art with the usurer or money-lender (Kusīdin) in the ŚB.[887] The RV[888] and AV[889] refer to debts, contracted for gambling but they do not show their use for economic benefits. We are not sure if 'śreṣṭhī' in AB,[890] KS,[891] TB[892] and Kauṣi. Upa.[893] was like modern seṭh advancing loans on interest. However, there is little evidence in the Vedic literature to suggest that debts were contracted for economic benefits to further the cause of production or trade and commerce.

Pāṇini mentions loans to be repaid after the harvesting of crops viz., aśvatthaka,[894] Kalapaka and Yava-busaka[895] and graiṣmaka.[896] He refers to special loans for purchasing a young bull (vatsatararaṇa)[897] for the purpose of agriculture. The terms 'pratibhū' in Pāṇini[898] and 'prātibhāvyam"[899] imply that loans were contracted on the basis of somebody standing

surety. Thus we may assume that towards the end of the Vedic period credit system came into force in the society, evidently for economic enterprises, which became more crystalised in the post-Vedic period, as evidenced by Pāṇini[900] who mentions words like Uttamarṇa, adhamarṇa, ṛṇa, and vṛddhi (interest) along with its 10% rates, 'daśaikādaśa'. Lower rates of interest are also referred to in 'ardhya'[901] meaning half a Kārṣāpaṇa per month.

(vii) *The rich and the poor*: The concept of private ownership of land grew up among the Vedic Aryans even in the Ṛgvedic society. Trade and commerce flourished and wealth began to concentrate in the hands of a few, thus leading to economic inequality. The rise of a landed aristocracy of some intermediaries between the king and the peasants is attested by TS,[902] which refers to person craving for a village (Grāmakāma) whom gods granted special privileges of making the folk dependent on him and of enabling him to grasp 'the mind of his equals.[903] Thus some became lords of villages with enough power over their equals by merit of their deeds and won secure position in the society, obviously patronised by the king. The ṚV[904] mentions 'mahākula's and 'maghavan's, i.e., rich people. The term 'maghavan' is used normally as the epithet of Indra in the ṚV and also in the post-Vedic literature. It means 'a generous giver' of bounties to priests. The learned authors of the Vedic Index[905] suggest that the Maghavan-s might have "had any special rank as a class in the society" and if so, they formed the richer section. Richer than these stood the kings, referred to even in the ṚV frequently as patronising the priests with rich gifts in the shape of cattle, grains, garments, chariots and money. The ṛc[906] is a clear evidence of the manificence of such rich patrons, highly praising the sacrificial fees (dakṣiṇā). The accounts of gifts, sometimes exaggerated in the Brāhmaṇa-s and Upaniṣads give us an idea of the wealth in the hands of kings, as for example, the gifts of Janaka,[907] the gifts of Janaśruti to Raikva,[908] the gifts of Ṛṇamchaye,[909] king of the Ruśamas and of Kaurama.[910] The chiefs of men or gods are depicted as living in places called 'harmya' in the ṚV,[911] the ṛc[912] (Te harmyeṣṭhāḥ śiśavo na) refers to princes lying in palaces and looking fine (śubhrā). The AV[913] also mentions 'harmya' as a residence

of Yama. The houses of different wives of a sacrificing king, known as mahīṣī, vārātā and parivṛktī[914] indicate the nature of a complex type of the king's palace. Besides, we learn the appointment of various officers like Kṣattṛ, gatekeeper, superintendent of the harem (antaḥpurādhyakṣa) and of various attendants, male and female in the King's palaces. As regards things of luxury we may mention the perfumes and garlands (gandha-mālya) in Chānd. Upa.[915] ointments,[916] ointment-maker,[917] a reed-stalk (śareṣikā) with a tuft used as an anointing instrument and lac (lākṣā).[918] The rich had plenty of gold and jewellery and even in the Ṛgvedic age they had the tendency to hoard them under earth, as referred to in the ṚV[919] (patha ekaḥ pīpāya taskaro yathā eṣa veda nidhīnām) which means that one god Pūṣan, thieflike, watches well the ways and knows the place where the treasures lie.

The social inequality prevailed even in the Ṛgvedic stage, as we find mention of people involved in debt on account of gambling[920] (ṛṇāvā vibhyad-dhanam icchamāno). Debtors were sometimes bound to the posts by their creditors[921] (na jānīmo nayatā vaddham-etam). The gambler is said to have lost his house and even his wife[922] and to have been renounced even by his own relations. The ṛc[923] indicates that the rate of interest was one-fourth (śapta) and one-sixteenth (kalā). The ṛc[924] (Para ṛṇā sāvīradha matkṛtāni māhaṃ rājannanyakṛtena bhojam) means: "Discharge, O Varuṇa, the debts contracted by my progenitors and those, contracted now by me, may I not be dependent (on the debts contracted) by another. Many are the mornings, that have as it were, not dawned, make us, Varuṇa, alive in them." This ṛc shows how the persons involved in debt passed the days in anxiety so much so as not to be conscious of the dawns, i.e., the light of the day. Such was the severity of life, full of tortures, of the persons in debt. The AV[925] refers to a prayer to two Apsaras, fierce-seeing (ugraṃpaśyā) and fierce-conquering (ugrajit) for forgiving the guilt of debt in diceplay. From this evidence we may assume that the people frequently were involved in debt by gambling and sometimes they tried to avoid payment, though, of course, such non-payment was regarded as a sin involving evils in the next life.

The ṛc[926] (Sasarparī-r-abharat-tūyam-ebhye'adhi, śravaḥ

pāñchajanyāsu Kṛṣṭiṣu) states that Sasarparī, the goddess of speech brings about the abundance of ambrosia (amṛtam) among the gods and also that of food among the people known as Pañchajanya. The sacrificial post (Yūpa) is invoked in the ṛc[927] to oust poverty and famine (samiddhasya śrayamā-naḥ purastād-brahma vanvāno ajaraṃ suvīram......mahate saubhagāya) and to bring good fortune. Elsewhere[928] (Gabhiṣṭ-aremāmatiṃ durevāṃ yavena kṣudhaṃ Puruhūta viśvām) we learn of prayer to Indra to get rid of evil thoughts born of poverty and subdue hunger by acquiring cattle and wealth. The ṛc[929] (Sa id Bhojo ye gṛhave dadātyanna-kāmāya charate kṛśāya) speaks of Bhoja, a giver who gives food to the poor and emanciated man begging food ; and the next ṛc[930] denounces one for not offering food to the beggar (na sa sakhā yo na dadāti). Again in the next ṛc[931] the Ṛṣi advises a rich man to give and satisfy the person who begs something from him. Thus this hymn euloguises the virtues of gifts, because "riches comes now to one, and then to another, it rolls on like the wheels of a chariot." (O hi vartante rathyeva chakrānyaman-yamupatiṣṭhanta rāyaḥ).

The AV[932] is a spell against injury to the grain by light-ing : "Do not, o god, smite our grain with the lightning and ......with the Sun's rays." We hear of similar charms for periodical rains,[933] for fair weather[934] and for rain and averting inundation.[935] However, in spite of all these, famine took place as a result of destruction of crops by locusts and the Ch. Upa.[936] refers to the sage Chakrāyaṇa who had to migrate to a neighbouring country along with his wife only to save themselves from the intensity of famine and had to live on Kulmāṣa (māṣakalāya).

viii) *Function of the State in Economic Life*: The guiding law of ancient societies was the law of status. Every-one was born to a place in the community and he had to fulfil certain duties. Thus the net of customs bound men to their respective places and duties thereof. The ṚV[937] (Anu pūrvānyokyā sāmrājyasya saśchima/ Mitrasya vratā Varuṇasya dīrghaśrut//) states that we keep the old accus-tomed laws, the statutes of supremacy, the long-known laws of Mitra and Varuṇa. The early society was made of house-holds and groups, each being led by the customs but this

isolation melted with the advance of human society, when people settled new relationships growing among them and regulated themselves by the spirit of bargain. Thus grew up economic relationships, based mainly upon contract (and not mere customs). Of course, behind such contract there must be the powerful support of the State, so that all activities would be well regulated, not to the excess or exploitation of the weaker by the stronger section. The ŚB[938] speaks of the growth of the free contract, sanctioned by the priestly class: "Because (the Adhvaryu) bargains for the king (Soma), therefore any and everything is vendible here." And because they first bargain and afterwards come to terms, therefore, about any and everything that is for sale here, people first bargain and afterwards come to terms."

The Government commanded obedience of the people even as early as the Vedic period. Agni,[939] as a king claims obedience of the people and to him, the people with free will pay homage; the king with whom the Brāhmaṇa hath precedence. He, unopposed is the master of the riches of his own subjects and of hostile people.[940] Here we find the power of the State over the wealth of its subjects as well as the enemies. The Br. Up.[941] refers to the dignity of the king as that of Brahman and his man-power, leading them according to his sweet will.

The King is invoked during his coronation ceremony by the Brahmin priest: "Iyaṃ te rāḍ yantāsi yamano dhruvo si dharuṇaḥ. Kṛṣyai tvā kṣemāya tvā rayyai tvā"[942]=This is thy sovereignty. Thou art the ruler, the controller, firm and steadfast, thee for agriculture, thee for protecting what is won, thee for wealth and thee for increase of our substance (like cattle, sons and others). Elsewhere the prayer of the king in VS[943] is worth quoting: "Ā Brahman Brāhmaṇo brahmavarchasī jāyataṃ ā rāṣṭre rājanyaḥ śūra iṣavyo' tivyādhī mahāratho jāyatāṃ doghrī dhenu-r-voḍhānadvān āśuḥ saptiḥ purandhi-r-yoṣā jiṣṇu-ratheṣṭhāḥ sabheyo yuvāsya yajamā nasya viro jāyatāṃ nikāme nikāme naḥ Parjanyo varṣatu phala vatyo na oṣadhayaḥ pachyantāṃ yoga-kṣemo kalpatām", that is "O Brahman, let there be born in the Kingdom the Brāhmaṇa, illustrious for knowledge, let there be born the rājanya, a skilled archer-piercing with shafts a mighty warrior, the cow giving abundant milk, the ox good

at carrying, the swift Courser, the illustrious woman, may 'Parjanya send rain according to our desire; may our fruit-bearing plants ripen and may acquisition and preservation of property be secured to us." This is enough to show the keen interest of the head of the State in various spheres of economic life of the people so that balance of power be maintained among different limbs of the State and the people be happy and prosperous in all respects. The AV[944] gives us an idea of the economic development of the country under the able administration of the king. Peace and prosperity of a humble subject was the true mark of a good administration, as exhibited in the story of a happy pair basking under the benign rule of King Parīkṣit. The husband tells his wife how Parīkṣit has given them peace and prosperity and the wife's reply speaks of the plenty of her simple household: "When shall I sat before thee curds, gruel of milk or barley brew?" ("Katarat ta ā harāṇi dadhi manthāṃ pari śrutaṃ/ Jāyā patiṃ vi pṛcchati rāṣṭre rājñaḥ Parīkṣitaḥ// abhivasvaḥ prajihīte yavaḥ pakvaḥ patho vilam/ janaḥ sa bhadram-edhati rāṣṭre rājñaḥ Parīkṣitaḥ//").

Last, we may draw our attention to AV[945] which mentions different processes of commerce like 'Kraya' (purchase), 'Prapaṇa' (bargaining), 'vikraya' (sale), 'pratipaṇa' (counter-bargaining), 'phala' (profit), 'charita' (transaction) and 'utthita' (principal and profit). These technical terms indicate that commerce was fully developed during the period. The rise of commerce brought money which could again be invested for further profits. The trader utilised his wealth for more wealth (dhanena dhanamicchamānaḥ), making bargain with wealth (dhanena prapaṇam charāmi), as Sāyaṇa explains its verse no. 5. Both the state and the mercantile community kept perpetual vigilance, required for commercial rise. The traders as a group prayed to Fire Vaiśvānara for stimulating themselves, their kith and kin, their animals and their vital airs, as evidenced by Sāyaṇa's comment on this hymn. If so, commerce, though initiated by some individuals was a family enterprise as well as and all the members of the family performed their respective duties with clear consciousness. The traders were equally conscious of their lapses, if any, in the commercial life and they were ever ready to atone the offences,

committed as indicated in their prayer to Agni. Thus the individual enterprises in trade and commerce, sponsored by the Government reached the ultimate end of a prosperous material life, so that the people would rejoice together with abundance of wealth and food.

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